

MASK AND MIRROR: CULTURAL MAINTENANCE AND THE POLITICS OF
FULFILLMENT IN BARBADOS'S JUNIOR CALYPSO MONARCH PROGRAMME

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Abstract

Barbados, like other Caribbean nations, holds junior calypso competitions for Barbadian youth. These competitions, sponsored by Barbados's National Cultural Foundation (NCF), allow the youth to express their opinions on society. As youth become the voice of the people during Crop Over, the normative social order temporarily inverts. Barbados's Junior Calypso Monarch Programme (JCMP) is a developmental program and competition divided into two age categories: 8-12 years old and 13-18 years old. Through the junior calypsonians' social commentaries, the JCMP promotes a hardworking, traditional, yet innovative image of Barbados to local and international audiences. The program consists of a workshop on calypso performances, junior calypso tent performances, and the competition's semifinals, and finals. The winners receive the title of Junior Calypso Monarch, the opportunity to perform in Trinidad and Tobago during Carnival, and other prizes. The title of Junior Calypso Monarch garners respect from Barbadians. It is a sign of the child's and Barbados's future success. The JCMP performance practices masquerade on two criteria: One, Calypso's musical aesthetics, focused on pleasant and melodious sounds, and the aesthetics' association with bacchanal conceal the serious nature of the social and political criticism within the performance. Two, the junior calypsonians' performances provide social commentary on topics deemed appropriate by the Barbadian government and society, and reveal youth's regulated freedom through performance. Masquerade is an avenue to display the youth's agency in Barbadian society and resistance against the youth's stereotypical roles in society. Through examination of calypsos from the 2014 JCMP and its role within the Barbadian government, this work argues that the JCMP increases the value of youth's role in nationalist projects and social agency through calypso

performances as the youth helps define Bajan musical aesthetics and add new dimensions to Barbados's national image.

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Chapter One: Smoke and Mirrors: The Collision of Myth and Reality in Barbados

As a Caribbean island, Barbados is pictured as a land with beaches of soft sands and turquoise water. Along with beautiful beaches, Barbados is filled with colorful flowers and lush vegetation. More importantly, it is “Little England.” Barbados is a nation of polite and friendly people that completes Barbados's paradise image. Every summer, “Little England”¹ holds a carnival-like festival called Crop Over. Barbados and Barbadians, or Bajans² as they call themselves, are blatantly on display through the Crop Over. The festival’s origins trace back to the slavery era as a celebration of the end of sugar cane harvesting season and the emotional preparation for the “hard times,” a time where there are less jobs available. In 1974, the most current version of Crop Over was organized by the Barbadian government to increase tourism to the island. . This form of Crop Over eventually added Bajan cultural promotion to the festival’s functions. Crop Over season is a time when Bajans and foreigners intimately interact. The season is known to have private and public fêtes filled with music, drinks, and food culminating to the first Monday of August called Grand Kadooment, the final day and the main event of Crop Over. Grand Kadooment, similar to the Trinidadian event Carnival Tuesday, is a large parade or road march of masquerade costume bands, party vans, wayward jumpers, and awe-struck, jovial onlookers. The colorful and energetic people of Grand Kadooment

¹ This nickname is common knowledge for people of Bajan heritage, but there are contested origin stories. The common thread of stories that I heard is that the nickname is reflective of Barbados’s relationship to England.

² Throughout this work, Barbadian will be used during discussions of government processes, actions, and policies. Bajan will be used in discussions of culture, society and national identity.

jumping, wukking up³, and flag waving are the primary images of Crop Over and of Barbados as a tourist destination along with the island's numerous beaches.

The spirit of bacchanal is what currently draws the majority of tourists to the festival and a mentality Bajans look forward to revel in bacchanal during the period of Crop Over. Bacchanal is revelry. It is a mentality ingrained in the Bajan psyche promoting cathartic experience aimed to forget the hardships of everyday life. During Crop Over season, Bajans will go to fêtes and other festivities multiple times a week if they have the financial resources or save money to go to their favorite fête if they do not. Masquerade within a carnival setting enhances the catharsis as people temporarily abandon their normal day-to-day identity. The spirit of bacchanal and masquerade promote Barbados's image as an exotic paradise that functions as a space for foreigners to escape their mundane lives. The other side of Crop Over, as stated earlier, is the exhibition and promotion of Bajan culture. Crop Over's latest version began with aims to boost the island's tourism industry but has become "the embodiment of a truly indigenous festival" (Nation Newspaper 1998 7). "Thousands of Barbadians feel and display a local sense of ownership of Crop Over" making it a display of the relationships between the Barbadian government and the agency of Barbadian society during local and global promotions of Barbadian culture (ibid.).

The 2014 Crop Over season was the fortieth anniversary of the current version of the festival. The National Cultural Foundation, henceforth called the NCF, focused on Bajan culture and heritage for the anniversary season. There were additional events added to the season including a lecture on Crop Over history, an organized walk in Barbados's

³Wukking up is the Bajan term for a popular dance move in the Caribbean involving the gyrating of the hips and pelvis.

capital, Bridgetown, to sites of historical importance, and a concert featuring Barbados's past calypso monarchs⁴. During Crop Over season, there are numerous cultural exhibitions for tourists and Bajans to consume. The most popular forms of cultural exhibition are the musical performances and competitions held during the festival. Calypso, soca, and steel pan music are the major music genres during the season. The calypso and soca competitions are highly advertised in the media and the performances and outcomes are frequently talked about among the public. There are four adjudicated music competitions during the season: Sweet Soca Monarch, Party Monarch, Pic-o-de-Crop, and Junior Calypso Monarch Programme, the focus of this project.⁵ This project will argue that Barbados's Junior Calypso Monarch Programme functions as a site of cultural definition dependent upon masquerade where the youth's calypso performances become a signifier of Bajan artistry, cultural longevity, and societal strength through the programme's role in social and cultural education for Bajans and its role in providing underrepresented populations social agency through regulated freedom.

The Junior Calypso Monarch Programme, henceforth called the JCMP, is one of the few events that require only children and youth participants. The JCMP participants range from eight to eighteen years old⁶. The JCMP fulfills a number of roles for Bajan culture and society. It serves as an educational and development program for children and youth interested in calypso. The program shares numerous similarities to its adult counterpart, Pic-o-de-Crop. Like the other Crop Over music competitions, the participants of the Pic-o-de-Crop and the JCMP are Bajan citizens or seeking Bajan

⁴The title given to winners of Bajan calypso competitions.

⁵ There is also the People's Monarch competition. The winner is chosen by the public's votes rather than adjudication.

⁶ JCMP participants will be called junior calypsonians throughout this work.

citizenship. Since the 1990s, the JCMP and Pic-o-de-Crop have the same competition format.⁷ Both competitions begin with non-adjudicated tent performances. The competitions' tent performances function as on-stage practice for the calypsonian. It is a time for calypso singers, commonly known as calypsonians, to refine their stage performances of the calypsos and gauge the audience's reaction. After the tent performances, there are the adjudicated performances for the semi-finals and finals.

Like the Pic-o-de-Crop, the JCMP allows children to publicly express their opinions about the society around them. For the majority of the Caribbean, calypso is the most public form of social critique and masquerade is a concept central to calypso. Common topics for calypsos are the Barbadian government, politicians, Bajan culture, Western cultural influence, delinquency, education, Bajan nationalism, and HIV/AIDS. I believe masquerade softens the harshness of Bajan society and becomes necessary for the music genre to be readily consumed and enjoyed. Calypso lyrics are filled with innuendos and other literary devices used to disguise harsh social critiques. Calypso's musical accompaniment further describes these critiques aurally due to orchestration and musical devices. Calypsonians are stage personas highlighting certain personality aspects such as, wit or strength. The calypso stage is a public space where the mythical Barbados and the island's reality meet. The humor, spectacle, and occasional beauty associated with calypso performance become intertwined with the Bajan experience on the island. The calypso performances of junior calypsonians become more important with the Barbadian government's initiatives to further protect children and the youth through programs for their life enrichment. The children and youth's value in Bajan society are increasing as

⁷ The JCMP did not have tent performances during the early years of the program. It was said that the JCMP tents were suggested by calypsonian and tuk band player, Wayne "Poonka" Willcock, and started in the time frame stated above.

the possible bright future of the nation and society. JCOMP calypsos are seen as valid forms of social commentaries and an indicator of Bajan calypso's future.

This project questions common beliefs about Bajan calypso and Bajan culture where the genre developed, the agency of children in the redefinition of a collective Bajan identity, and the maintenance of the Bajan calypso. In the academic field of Caribbean Studies, there is a lack of research on Bajan culture, especially Bajan musical culture. This lack of research perpetuates the notion of Bajans having a weak cultural identity. Barbados has been plagued with the mentality that it has a weak culture when comparing its culture to other ones in the region and globally. Throughout Barbados's history, Bajan culture has and is heavily influenced by the West with the consumption of British culture and American culture. Barbados's history makes Bajan culture appear to be an example of *tabula rasa* where British colonial powers erased African culture from the Bajan slave population (Marshall 1986; Marshall, McGeary, and Thompson 1996). However, if one takes Gilroy's concept of lower frequency challenges into consideration, the presence of African culture during the creation of Bajan culture and current Bajan culture shows how African slaves in Barbados resisted colonial powers (Gilroy 1997). The performance and promotion of Bajan calypso continues this tradition of lower frequency challenges. In reality, Bajan culture is an example of Hanchard's use of *tabula blanca* because Bajan culture was not considered significant. In recent years, the Bajan government saw the value of Bajan culture. Barbados's Cultural Industries Bill proposed in 2011 indicates the acknowledgement of Bajan culture's importance to Bajan society. Crop Over is currently the most lucrative cultural industry on the island. Outside of the high influx of tourists at the time, it is also the only time when Bajan calypso is

consumed on a large scale. It perpetuates the dichotomy of resistance and compliance that simultaneously occurs throughout the carnival season. Bajan calypso becomes a display of Bajan musical culture, Bajan artistry, and social agency on the island.

There are numerous sources on Calypso and its role in reinforcing and redefining national identities within the Caribbean (Dudley 2004; Harewood 2008, 2013; Smith 2004). Many of these sources discuss the institutionalizing of the genre through calypso competitions. However, there is a dearth of research on the children calypso competitions throughout the Caribbean. Reasons for this are unknown, but they seem to point to the generalization that children have no agency within their respective societies. They lack the right to have direct influence on society, such as voting or having a career. The act of children commenting on social issues such as education, family dynamics, politics, and sexual education through calypso performance is outside of their prescribed duties within society. Children calypso competitions challenge this notion allowing children to express their thoughts on their surrounding society. Children or junior calypsonians essentially play or masquerade as adults through their social commentary. This masquerade displayed during Crop Over allows the heteronormative social order to be challenged throughout the duration of the festival. There is the question on the amount of agency the junior calypsonians have in the creation of their calypso for the current Crop Over season. Most of the lyrics are written by adults or adults arrange songwriters and JCMP calypsos. On the other hand, junior calypsonians do have opportunities within the compositional and performance processes to contribute to the calypso's creation. In the 2014 JCMP, two junior calypsonians were their own lyricist and several others are asked to write about the social issues that interest them before the adult lyricist creates the

lyrics. The youth's participation in the program also displays the youth's agency within the maintenance and innovation in Bajan calypso and the (re)definition of a Bajan musical aesthetic. Their participation ultimately allows Barbados to appear as a land of opportunity on the national and international stages. The program also takes part in larger social initiatives for the Bajan people. To go along with UN initiatives to protect and cultivate youth populations globally, the Bajan government has created a youth policy that promises to provide the youth educational and enrichment programs to prepare for their eventual control of the nation and society. The Junior Calypso Monarch Programme (JCMP) is a program that fulfills Barbados's initiatives to enrich the youth while promoting Bajan culture to fellow Bajans and tourists. This research shows the importance of the children and youth's role in Bajan culture and national identity through the genre's role in increasing the subaltern's, in this case the children and youth's, agency for a period of time. This project discusses issues on creating a localized style of an international musical style with discussion on JCMP's role in Bajan calypso's standardization. Calypso becomes a form of soft power legitimizing Bajan culture and society.

Musical Opening Ceremonies: Afro-Modernity, Popular Music, Bajan Culture and National Identity

There are two songs that signal the beginning of official musical Crop Over events. At the start time of the event, the audience hears a slogan song for the Crop Over festival. The slogan song features a male tenor voice singing about the major Crop Over events for the season and its melody and accompaniment are similar to ones heard in the popular music competitions and concerts.. It is a song that was frequently heard on the island. It is the song that accompanies the official radio and television commercials for

several Crop Over events. The song is infectious and amplifies audience's anticipation for Crop Over events. After a few hearings, anyone could say the beginning and closing lines of the song.

"It's Crop Over time again....
It keeps getting sweeter, sweeter
Love me Crop Over
Sweeter, sweeter
Love me Crop Over." (National Cultural Foundation 2014)

It is a song that can make anyone dance. It is a happy celebratory song promoting the spirit of Bacchanal and nationalist pride associated with Crop Over. The concepts of bacchanal and nationalism combine into the concept of sweetness. Crop Over's sweetness equates to the value of the festival. One of the many functions of the term, sweet, is to describe something well-liked in Bajan society. As Crop Over "keeps getting sweeter," its cultural, societal, and economic value will increase and consumers and participants' love for the festival will grow. The slogan song aurally catches the attention of the audience consisting of Bajans and tourists. It is a memorable way for people to remember the major events for the season. Along with numerous newspaper, television, and radio advertisements of the Crop Over events, it is hard for anyone on the island not to know about the Crop Over season.

After the slogan song, the audience hears a recorded drum roll followed by an instrumental version of the Barbadian national anthem, "In plenty and in time of need." The song sounds similar to a Protestant church hymn. The melody is simple and memorable. It is a drastic musical change from the soca music heard before the event if one comes early enough to an event. Coupled with the Christian prayer that followed the national anthem, the beginning of the events is meant to be times of reflection for the

audience and performers. For many in the audience, especially during the JCMP, the lyrics are unnecessary. Crop Over is an event for the Bajan people despite the festival's integral role in Barbados's tourism industry. When the music for "In plenty and in time of need" begins, the lyrics play in the heads of the audience.

"In plenty and in time of need
When this fair land was young
Our brave forefathers sowed the seed
From which our pride is sprung,
A pride that makes no wanton boast
Of what it has withstood
That binds our hearts from coast to coast-
The pride of nationhood ...

The Lord has been the people's guide
For past three hundred years.
With him still on the people's side
We have no doubts or fears.
Upward and outward we shall go,
Inspired, exulting, free
And greater will our nation grow
In strength and unity" (nationalanthems.info 2014)

Playing the national anthem before the event starts marks the JCMP performances as major public events. Based on observations of public events in Barbados and occasional discussions in Bajan media about the proper behavior for Bajans when the anthem is played, I believe the national anthem provides an opportunity for thoughtful reflection on Bajan history and culture during the Crop Over season's endorsement of bacchanal. The title and the first line of the Bajan national anthem, "In time of plenty and in time of need," is forthright about the nation's turbulent past. Through historical struggles and successes "the brave forefathers" founded the island nation that gained independence in 1966. Barbados's history as a colony under English rule and as an independent nation is a

collective memory that founds Bajan nationalism and bind Bajans together. The chorus shows how Barbados's progeny are proud to be Bajans. After centuries of colonial rule, the island finally belongs to the Bajans. They are the guardians of their heritage and the makers of their fate. The second and final verse displays Christianity's value to Bajan society and culture. The Lord's support of Bajans makes them fearless. Coupled with their independence, "inspired, exulting" Bajans will make Barbados grow into a strong, unified nation.

The Crop Over slogan song and the Bajan national anthem show the current state of Crop Over and Bajan culture and society. The use of soca for the slogan song shows the future of Bajan music and culture. Soca is a product of advancing musical technology in the Caribbean and increased contact with other nations. It is one of a few Caribbean popular music genres considered to have potential in the international music industry. Despite the national anthem's relative novelty, it is a display of the island's past. The national anthem uses only straight rhythms and contains chordal progressions common in seventeenth and eighteenth century Western classical music. The lyrics focus on Barbados's history. Musically, the two songs show Bajan culture at a metaphorical crossroads reflective of twentieth century Afro-modernity. Bajan culture and society exist in a realm where the past, present, and future dictate their status. Temporality is a primary concept in Afro-Modernity (Hanchard 1999). The past connects people of the African diaspora providing Afro-Bajans cultural and historical ties to Africa. Barbados's connection to Africa promotes African pride and helps the society stray away from its English past.

Four Main Themes

Nested Identities

Barbados tries to achieve a strong national identity while maintaining their identity as part of the Caribbean, especially the Anglophone Caribbean. The region shares a similar history due to slavery and Western European colonialism. An image of Caribbean unity for people outside of the region attempts to increase the Caribbean islands' soft power and, subsequently, improve the standards of living through strengthening the economy. Economically, Barbados has one of the strongest economies in the region. However, Barbados does not stand out artistically. Discussions about Caribbean culture do not extensively talk about Barbados's contribution. National culture, its promotion, and its consumption is becoming increasingly important for the Caribbean islands because cultural industries are considered a new cornerstone in the Caribbean's national economies. For Barbados to improve its economy, it must improve the people's perception of Barbados cultural, more specifically, artistic production.

This work focuses on calypso performance in Barbados. Calypso is a regional genre. The genre comprises of musical influences from around the region and reflects the mobility the people and its intangible products within the region. Trinidad is considered calypso's home, but Barbados and other Caribbean islands claim some ownership of the genre due to their national styles. In Barbados, the genre is currently an artistic avenue to express their opinions on Bajan society and reflects a cultural unity within the Caribbean. Barbados wants to solidify a calypso aesthetic that bolsters nationalist sentiments.

Youth and Nation Building

The youth has a crucial role in creating a Bajan calypso aesthetic. The JCMP forces Bajans to set standards because the program is meant to teach the Bajan children and youth the fundamentals of calypso. The program's goals are to create the newest generations of Bajan calypsonians and keep the genre alive on the island. The need to keep this genre alive shows the importance of calypso for Bajan culture.

In the early twentieth century, calypso was a genre for the poor and its consumption by respectable Bajans was discouraged. In the 1970s and 80s, Bajan calypsonians, like Mighty Gabby, Red Plastic Bag and others, became famous in Barbados and had an international presence. Now, the government, commentators, and calypsonians strive to keep the genre alive. The calypso competitions, Pic-o-de-Crop and JCMP, are Barbados's only method to keep the genre in the eyes of Bajans. In the Pic-o-de-Crop, there are numerous calypsonians that question calypso's defining characteristics. Doubts of calypso's characteristics accompany the calypsonians' questions in the discussions about calypso's disintegration.

According to the government and major Bajan media outlets, authentic Bajan calypso is performed in the JCMP. The lessons and subsequent tests on Bajan calypso fundamentals in the form of JCMP calypso performance confirm the JCMP's claims of authenticity promoted in the media and public. The program allows Bajan children and youth to be young guardians of an art form important to Bajan culture. Calypso as a genre also allows the children and youth to give their opinions on Bajan society, thus providing their histories to Bajan historiography. Participation in the program is a stepping stone toward successful and productivity lives as Bajan adults. This is the politics of

fulfillment's vision. Adult Afro-Bajans want the next generation to be at least as successful as them. During the communal prayer before the JCMP finals, there was an expressed hope for the junior calypsonians to become Barbados's cultural ambassadors. Calypso, according to JSlo, is a "genre [that] breathes rich history in Barbados" (Personal Interview with JSlo, 2014). The genre provides Bajans with roots musically and culturally. Currently, junior calypsonians are guardians of calypso in Barbados. I believe in the future the junior calypsonians are expected to polished adult calypsonians that perform authentic Bajan calypso and revive what they consider the dying art form.

In 2011, Barbados's youth policy was drafted and instated. The policy's creation was influenced by the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations (www.youthpolicy.org) The JCMP became part of the island's youth policy that encourages the children and youth to participate in the arts, sports, and other forms of positive community involvement. These extracurricular programs invest and strengthen the children and youth, Barbados's greatest asset. Members of the youth are now given power to improve Bajan society and improve the national image. This challenges the youth's former place as a passive spectator in Bajan society until they have an established career. The youth policy continues to question who can influence Bajan society and actively change Barbados's image for Bajans and the international audience.

Masquerade

Concepts of masquerade and respectability are central to Bajan culture and cannot be severed from one another. These concepts have been interpreted and acted upon throughout Bajan history, and I believe was crucial to Bajan culture. The discovery of the New World and the implementation of the Atlantic slave trade forced Africans and

Blacks to continuously go through processes Jean Comaroff calls “signifying practices” where “persons, acting upon an external environment, construct themselves as social being” (quoted in Higginbotham 1993:280). As the Other, Africans and Blacks in Western countries and former Western colonies have and continuously struggle to combat negative images of the race and create their own representation(s). Respectability and masquerade are two methods that Africans and Blacks used while living in the West to actively affect the publicized representations. Masquerade is a polygenic process and mentality. In academia, masquerade is associated with the carnivalesque, a concept disseminated by Mikhail Bakhtin because the playing of mas’ in Caribbean carnivals represents carnivalesque’s primary aspects. Mas’ or masquerade during carnival occurs during the event’s space of time outside of day-to-day life (Testa 2014, 46; Bakhtin 252). Masquerade, as seen in carnival musical performances and costume bands, allows people of various ethnic groups and economic classes to temporarily unite while experiencing carnival. Caribbean carnivals also condone mass celebration and consumption rather than hard work and moderation during its designated time. Bakhtinian carnivalesque is influenced by medieval European carnivals. Bakhtin argues that carnival is space where dichotomies coexist and social inversions occur due to humor and satire. Caribbeanists believe that the Caribbean currently has the largest claim to the concept of carnival due to the concept’s prevalence within the region through the organization and participation in these annual events. When carnival is mentioned now, the majority of people create a mental picture of masquerade parades from Latin American or Caribbean carnivals. People see the large costume bands dancing to music with abandon. It is not some entity that was created in Western Europe and precisely copied by the Caribbean.

As you will see in the next chapter, Caribbean masquerade centers itself on duplicity. This duplicity has allowed Caribbean people to safely express themselves during colonial times as well as currently. Bacchanal is the primary sentiment, but the celebration of the nation's culture appears to be the primary goal recently. Carnivals are exaggerated forms of day-to-day Caribbean and national cultures. Using solely Bakhtinian carnivalesque discussions of Caribbean masquerade without a soliloquy on Caribbean culture would result in the assumption that colonialism solely gifted the Caribbean their vibrant cultures. Carnavalesque and masquerade are ingrained in Caribbean cultures. The goal of social inversion is not at the forefront during every carnival activity; it is the active experience of a national culture. When young children, tourists, and returning expats consume and participate in the carnival, they are expected to participate in the particular nation's culture. Carnavalesque and masquerade are metonymic terms of Caribbean ethos. It is performed in everyday Caribbean culture.

Respectability

Respectability is a concept that Blacks have aspired to after slavery emancipation in the United States and the Caribbean to fight for their civil rights. Blacks gained respectability by upholding the same morals as the heteronormative Caucasian population. Becoming a respectable member of society gave Blacks voices in the public space. Respectability was a primary tool used by Black politicians as they entered and tried to change the nations' or colonies' laws and perceptions of Black people. A degree of assimilation is necessary for respectability to be achieved. Blacks knew that they were seen as inferior in every aspect of life compared to Caucasians. Assimilation performed, and occasionally lived, by Blacks disproved assumptions that Blacks were biologically

and socially incapable of acting like Caucasians and thus, unable to be on the same level as Caucasians. Respectability, at times, appeared to be a sign of disrespect toward Black cultures. When used in the public spheres of the colonial period, respect was associated with the concept's Victorian definition. Discussed later in the chapter during discussions of Barbados decades before their independence, the journey to respectability was seen as pointless and more radical forms of resistance, like protests, were seen as useful. It was seen as complicity toward British culture and political control.

Respectability and masquerade were used in conjunction with each other throughout Barbados's history beginning with the English occupation and colonization. Both entities on close examination are intertwined and similar in Bajan culture and history. Masquerade and respectability legitimize each other. Masquerade can hide behind respectability's veil to remain harmless to Caucasians on the island. Respectability can use the process of masquerade to solidify its status as a method of resistance acceptable to Blacks. Both involve elements of duplicity as each is achieved or performed to achieve civil rights.

Literature Review

The earliest documentation on Barbados after English settlement is *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* by Richard Ligon (1657). The work documented plantation life on the island. The most current historical account of the island Hilary McDBeckles's second edition of *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single Market* (2006). Beckles's newest edition was galvanized by discourses on Bajan national identity and culture. His history of Barbados shows how trade and

migration on regional and global scales helped the island's cultural and economic development (xv).

Academic sources on Bajan culture serve as a validation for the strength of Bajan culture and history. Sources show how Bajans and the resulting Bajan culture were used to resist British colonial rule during the colonial period and are used to create a national identity and image. The anthology edited by Glenford D. Howe and Don D. Marshall, *The Empowering Impulse: The Nationalist Tradition of Barbados* discusses how Bajans' national and ethnic identities were created through forms of colonial resistance through politics and culture despite the pre-existence of a West Indian identity and culture resulting from the continuous migration within the region (2003). Antonio P. Rudder's *Marching to a Different Drummer: Elements of Barbadian Culture* documents the changing value of Bajan culture to the Barbadian government and Bajan society (2010). It is a history of Bajan culture from Barbados's independence in 1966 to the early twenty-first century. It shows how government funding galvanized the increase of Bajan artists and musicians and urges Barbados's public and private sector to continue fund Bajan cultural practices.

Curwen Best is one of the few scholars that focus on Bajan culture. In a number of his works, Best presents a theory based on tuk band aesthetics. Best attempts analyze and theory Bajan music and culture in *Barbadian Popular Music and the Politics of Caribbean Culture* (Best1999). This is the first book to focus on the music of Barbados and is meant to be a foundation for other works on Bajan music. His analysis on Bajan music focuses on its relationship to other art forms practiced in Barbados encouraging an interdisciplinary approach similar to the analysis of orature in non-Western cultures (7-8).

Dr. Susan Harewood's dissertation analyzes the performances of three Bajan artists, The Mighty Gabby, Alison Hinds, and Lil' Rick to discuss how calypso and soca are used to encourage community building through the depiction of different types of Bajan (Harewood 2006). The artists studied in the dissertation were recruited by the Barbadian government for nationalist projects. Their popularity at one time or another were used to redefine the national image for national and international audiences and became a brand that audiences readily consumed through endorsement deals and solo musical appearances outside of the competition scene. Harewood discusses the concept of "emphatic Bajaness" in calypso and soca performances. Becoming a hyper-Bajan stage persona quells "anxieties that have emerged in the face of regional integration" encouraging community and nation building (Harewood 2006, 263). According to Harewood, carnival performance is "characterized by (ostensible) constitution, centralization and vociferous expression" (Harewood 2006, 266).

The Myth of the Negro Past by Melville J. Herskovitz is a seminal work disproving the myth of Black (or Negro) inferiority. The five parts Herskovitz listed as the components of the myth perpetuated in the New World are collectively an example of the conflict between *tabula rasa* and *tabula blanca* in terms of cultural image. The myth perpetuated the notion that Black culture is a result of *tabula rasa* where African culture and history was erased due to the superiority of European culture. Herskovitz believed that this myth was an example of *tabula blanca* where African history and culture was never significant to others in the New World, and there are still traces of African culture in the New World.

In *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), Paul Gilroy discusses the hybridity of a cultural-political space called the Black Atlantic and Black cultures in the Americas, Caribbean, and Western Europe (more specifically England) caused by the experiences of the Atlantic slave trade. Gilroy's concept of Afro-modernity contains a space where divides capitalism and free labor, which is considered another form of enslavement by Gilroy, from cultural and artistic expression, which is seen as a method of liberation. Coupled with *The Myth of the Negro Past*, the numerous post-colonial nationalist projects and cultural critiques of Bajan culture were and are important for Bajan society. In post-colonial Barbados, Bajan culture, according to Bajan cultural critics, is a tool for liberation from British colonial rule. Bajan culture is a crucial component in nationalists projects that create a national imaginary used in the international promotion of Bajan culture, while the concept of a Black Atlantic coincides with themes of Black or African pride and regionalism in the Caribbean based on shared histories and experiences during the slavery era.

Gilroy's claim that afro-modernity is a counterculture to Western modernity creates questions to the relationship between afro-modernity and Western modernity. His claim can be interpreted as afro-modernity being "an appendage of Western modernity and European modernism" (Hanchard 1999: 247) For Hanchard, "Afro-modernity represents a particular understanding of modernity and modern subjectivity among people of African descent" (ibid.). Hanchard's interpretation of afro-modernity reinforces Gilroy's of a transnational concept of Blackness and Black identity. According to Hanchard, Afro-modern politics are transnational and are striving to provide better societal conditions for the next generation (247-8). Afro-modern politics can be seen at

the national level for Barbados through the creation of the NCF and the Barbadian government's youth policy. For the case of Barbados, the need for a greater international presence for economic survival and the need for nationalist projects to maintain and develop Bajan culture and society have molded the Bajan concept of afro-modernity.

Richard D.E. Burton's *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (1997) discusses how Afro-Caribbean culture is perceived in relation to preconceived notions of African culture, creole culture, Caribbean culture. Burton's discussion of culture as a weapon against heteronormative practices and beliefs are pertinent to this project. His analysis of Trinidadian carnival as resistance against and reinforcement of the Trinidadian status quo reflects similar sentiments for Barbados's Crop Over. Discussions on the role of calypso and the calypsonian in Afro-Caribbean culture and carnival show how calypso competitions have similar properties to carnival as a site of masquerade and as a weapon for resistance and reinforcement (see also Guilbault 2007).

Race Music by Guthrie P. Ramsey discusses the role of positionality in music as the "interplay of the backgrounds of audiences, musicians, critics, and scholars might inform the creation and reception of the music" (2003: xi). Black music is part of the racial discourse in the United States and is a practice of blackness for Americans who identify themselves as Black. It becomes a forum for various Black communities and individuals to present their form of blackness and these forms are continuously negotiated.

Amiri Baraka's *Blues People: Negro Music in White America* shows how the evolution of black American music had an integral part in black American history. The

work shows the influence black American music had on American culture. The genres' role in the media dissemination of black culture shows the importance of black Americans within White American culture. Baraka's concept of the "changing same" is an important one in this project. This concept shows how contemporary black American share similarities in musical practices and ideology to its origins in the musics of African and black slaves.

The history of calypso continues to be debated. However, Trinidadian scholars have attempted to reconstruct calypso's history (Manuel 2006: 218). There is a popular belief that calypso was introduced in Trinidad from slaves from the Francophone West Indies. The first "calypsonian" was Gros-Jean, a slave. Gros-Jean was said to entertain his master "with songs designed not only to flatter him and his friends and deride rival planters but also...to poke fun at [his master]" (Burton 1997: 188). Calypso is a genre molded and elevated through the high migration within the Caribbean. There is little written about the history of Barbados. The most definitive source is Trevor G. Marshall's seminar lecture titled "Notes on the History and Evolution of Calypso in Barbados" (1986). Marshall connects musical characteristics and practices from the slavery era to Bajan calypso to prove that "Barbados has been a "calypso country" for longer than expected or appreciated" (2). There is luckily a number of sources on calypso's history in Trinidad that contributes to the body of work on calypso as a transnational music genre in the Caribbean and aids in the reconstruction of Bajan calypso.

In *Governing Sounds: The Cultural Politics of Trinidad's Carnival Music* (2007), Dr. Jocelyne Guilbault positions calypso in a group of popular music genres that have been used to further nationalists project such as merengue, tango, and samba. Like the

three previously mentioned, the nation of Trinidad is the primary home of calypso and neither can be imagined without the other entity (1). She goes on to state that despite calypso being classified as a musical tradition in Trinidad changes to the genre and its music scene was a normal occurrence. Changes in Trinidadian society resulted in changes to Trinidadian calypso showing how “the construction of calypso as tradition emerged from a selective process and constituted as much the stakes of Trinidadian cultural politics as its products” (268). Calypso became a musical tradition and a space where agency of the government and the governed is deployed and is a disciplinary instrument defining and enforcing certain musical aesthetics and social mentalities and behaviors (ibid). Guilbault also shows how the innovations made to calypso as a genre show a connection to calypso’s hegemonic musical practices making the genre an example of Baraka’s “changing same” (271).

Dr. Shannon Dudley focuses on musical knowledge in his article “Judging “By the Beat:” Calypso versus Soca” (1996). Like African music, Caribbean music is understood by a “rhythmic feel” that is disregarded in Western music. He notes the importance of understanding and refining ways to describe this “rhythmic feel” and other musical features in non-Western music. Dudley shows that Western concepts of meter and pulse are not foreign to African music, but they are incomplete. Analyses of recurrent rhythms and the combination of rhythms provide an explanation to the African concepts of meter and pulse and a fuller understanding of African and African-diasporic music. Through this article, Dudley shows the importance of a “rhythmic feel” in distinguishing calypso and soca, calypso’s musical offshoot, and the interaction between the calypsonian and the calypso band.

Hope Munro Smith's entry in the *Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures* titled "Children's Musical Engagement with Trinidad's Carnival Music" is the only published source on the junior calypso competitions (2013). In this article, Munro Smith describes the initiatives the government put into place allowing children to participate in Trinidad's musical traditions. Like Guilbault, Munro Smith also notes the prevalence of North American culture in Trinidad and Tobago. Munro Smith claims this prevalence of North American culture resulted in the numerous youth programs implemented to provide the youth an opportunity to participate in the national culture (285). Based on my research and observations, Barbados also used a similar plan to combat the presence of North American culture and the resulting negative impacts it had on Bajan society.

An important source for research on the Junior Calypso Monarch Programme is the media coverage of the program. The NCF and Nation Newspaper, a widely distributed newspaper in Barbados, both make commemorative magazines for each Crop Over season containing articles on the major Crop Over events including the Junior Calypso Monarch Programme. These magazines provide and contribute to the historiography of the event. There were numerous newspaper articles on the participant's performances during their time in the calypso tents and the program's judged portions. The articles are objective, but they frequently contain the audience reception of certain calypso performances. As an indicator of the current program's favorite junior calypsonians, these articles influence the audience's future reception of the junior calypsonians' performances, contribute to the audience's commentary on the program's

result, and reinforce a Bajan musical aesthetic through their descriptions of the performances.

Methodology

Bajan calypso, its performance by junior calypsonians, and its role in the promotion of Bajan culture will be the focus of this thesis. Harewood's use of masquerade, influenced by Bakhtin's insight on the same concept, as a metaphor for methodology, provides a foundation for an interdisciplinary analysis that complements this project's ethnomusicological orientation. Lyrical and musical analyses from transcriptions of JCMP performance are used as examples of what is considered "true" Bajan calypsos to Bajan audiences. Coupled with these analyses, previous works on Bajan society and culture, calypso in the Caribbean, analysis of Bajan musical practices, ethnographic fieldwork (interviews and attendance of Crop Over 2014), and my experiences as a Bajan-American will be analyzed to articulate concepts within Bajan musical aesthetics. Works by Guilbault (2007), Best (1999), and Harewood (2006), and others provide a theoretical framework on the role of institutionalized popular music has on the creation and promotion of a national identity through presentations of culture on a national and international scale.

Chapter Outline

The organization of this work reflects the three stages of the Junior Calypso Monarch Programme (JCMP): the preparation, performance(s), and results. The stages are not clearly defined with evident overlaps among the stages. Each stage has effects on the other two giving the stages a cyclical relationship and making the JCMP's time frame and cultural influence extend outside of Crop Over. The first stage is the preparation. The

JCMP starts months before the programme's calypso tents begin in June with the calypso workshop held by the NCF during the Easter weekend and annual school calypso competitions. Some preparation starts as early as the end of the previous Crop Over season. The thesis' beginning chapters provide the reader with information needed to understand the research presented..This chapter orients the reader to this work's main themes associated with Crop Over, in particular the JCMP. Chapter two provides a general historical background of Barbados, Bajan music, and Crop Over,. The historical background will stem from sources on Bajan history and culture and Caribbean musical history.

Performances of the current season's junior calypsonians begin in June with the calypso tents and end in July with the Junior Calypso Monarch finals. This period of time represents the display of Bajan calypso through the performance of Bajan calypso. These performances reinforce established and/or innovative musical and performance practices that create a canon for Bajan calypso. Chapter three begins the discussion of the institutionalization of calypso in Barbados with the concept of calypso as an oral art. The chapter starts with a history of calypso in the Caribbean. In this section, the calypso's origins and its evolution display the concept of nationality, regionalism, and the relationship between social classes, visibility, and social agency. This is followed by a lyrical analysis of calypsos performed during the Junior Calypso Monarch finals highlighting common themes found and literary devices used in Bajan calypso. The analysis will show how calypso is a form of orature, an art crucial for Barbados and other Commonwealth Caribbean nations during the post colonial era and the nation's search for a national and cultural identity. The following chapter contains analysis on the musical

choices in the melodies accompanying the lyrics used in the calypsos analyzed in the previous chapter. The musical analysis shows calypso's transition as a form of orality to a form of aurality. The analyses in the two chapters show how calypso is a multi-faceted art form requiring a multidisciplinary analysis for a fuller understanding of the genre as discussed in the works of Guilbault (2007) and Harewood (2006). More importantly, it shows how Bajan calypso and a Bajan musical aesthetic are defined through this program.

Once the results of the Junior Calypso Monarch finals are announced, reflection occurs for the participants, organizers, and audience. It is a time when the people agree or challenge the canon of Bajan calypso, and reflect on the current state of calypso in Barbados and Bajan society. Chapter five contains a close reading into the role of the Junior Calypso Monarch Programme as a developmental cultural program within the realms of Crop Over and cultural and youth policies in Barbados. With the currently increasing global promotion of Bajan culture, this chapter leads to a deeper discussion on the role of popular music and culture in national identity, the co-optation of popular music by the government, and the concept of Afro-modernity and its connection to Bajan identity. The sixth and final chapter is a reflection of the research project discussing the role of positionality in fieldwork and research and possible opportunities for further research.

Chapter Two: Manners and Rebellion: Respectability and Masquerade in Barbados's Creation and Transformations

Pre-Colonial Barbados

Barbados's Amerindian history contradicts two important assumptions within Bajan history many have learned and come to believe:

- 1) Caribs and Arawaks were the primary Amerindian ethnicities that settled in Barbados. Arawaks were the first to settle and they were eventually replaced by the Caribs.
- 2) Barbados did not become part of the globalizing world until English colonization in 1627.

The birth of Barbados as a settlement came during the period between 350-650 AD when the Saladoid-Barrancoid settled on the island. The Saladoid-Barrancoids originated in South America and were known to be skilled craftsmen, farmers, and fishermen. Various Amerindian populations, most notably the Carib and Arawaks, are considered to be part of subsequent migrations waves to the island before Barbados became a part of Western Europe's colonization of the new world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Beckles 2006: 3-4).

In the early sixteenth century, Spanish explorers surveyed the island and noted that there were Amerindian settlements. Portuguese explorers then classified the island as uninhabited years later (ibid). English colonizers found Barbados in the same uninhabited state when they colonized in 1627. Not much is known about the events between the Portuguese and English settlement of Barbados. These waves were occasionally met with Western European oppositions through slave raiding missions into the Caribbean's Lesser Antilles for work in the Greater Antilles's Spanish colonies (8). These missions were

probably the primary reasons behind pre-colonial Barbados's lack of Amerindians when the English arrived. Amerindians died due to disease contracted from Western European colonists and in violent conflicts with the colonists. Due to Barbados's flat landscape, Barbados was a dangerous place for Amerindians and slaves because there was few places to hide compared to the mountainous terrain in other Caribbean islands.

Barbados's Amerindian history provided evidence of the island's position in globalization, or at least regionalization, centuries before English settlement of the island. More importantly, it shows the life of Barbados originating outside of English hands.

Workers and Slaves Supporting Colonial Barbados

The first ruler of the colony was the Earl of Carlisle through the issuance of a royal patent. His vision for Barbados as a the West Indies's commercial center caused prominent men deemed worthy by the Earl to have monopoly of the island's arable land (Beckles 2006,15). From a colonist perspective, the social unity among the planters and the Earl's ambitious plan made Barbados a success story in English colonization after twenty years of being a colony. As a successful English colony, Barbados became an "important post for the British Atlantic Slave Trade as well as a key location for administering colonial policy throughout the Caribbean (Bascomb 2013, 14). Barbados was also "a playground for a white planter class that may not have had the social status to compete in England." (Bascomb 2013, 13) The island as a vital post in British colonial Caribbean thus became a space where these planters "could make their fortunes and gain some degree of respectability in the New World" (ibid). In reality, as many currently know, the planters' fortune and respectability were created by the enslavement of Amerindians and Africans and the English indentured servants. Barbados's English

colonization brought African slaves to the island when they first settled and there were waves of African slaves until the Atlantic slave trade was abolished in 1807. At the same time, the English also shipped thirty-two Amerindians⁸ from Guyana to Barbados to assist the colonist in learning about the island's agriculture and the region's political environment (Beckles 2006, 16). Africans and Amerindians were seen as inferior brutes in comparison to the English colonizers. The governor Barbados in 1636, Henry Hawley proclaimed Africans, Amerindians, and their offspring would be considered slaves on the island creating an official environment for chattel slavery to become established informal practices.

Masquerade and Revelry: Bajan Slave Resistance

Throughout the slavery period, news of slave resistances in other islands influenced Bajan slaves and scared slave owners. Compared to other Caribbean colonies, interactions between the slaves and slave owners were relatively peaceful. There is little documented evidence of violent slave rebellions. As stated earlier, this peacefulness is the main reason many claimed Barbados has a less dynamic culture in relation to other islands in the region because "Little England's" people were too weak to actively fight the colonists. But, the good behavior of the slaves and the peace on Bajan plantations was the most effective method for slaves on the island to acquire better conditions. Many Bajan plantations remunerated their slaves with better living conditions and social advancement for good behavior and working efficiency.

Another prominent form of resistance was the weekend celebrations slaves held on the plantations. These celebrations were held throughout the Caribbean, and were both

⁸The ethnicity of the people shipped from Guyana is unknown, but it was assumed to be Amerindians based on the original task they were given when they arrived in Barbados.

troublesome and beneficial to planters during the slavery era. They were considered to "provide therapy for the enslaved, trapped in the tedious ménage of plantation labour, and for the more adventurous White man, whose society was peculiarly devoid of regular entertainment" (Rohlehr 1990: 3). However, there is an acknowledged connection between these celebrations and widespread national rebellions throughout the region. The music of the African and, eventually, black slaves roused indentured servants and African slaves into battle during Barbados's first rebellion in 1649 (Marshall 1986: 3). Planters on Barbados believed the music performed by African and Black slaves were a danger to the institution of chattel slavery, and instituted the Slave Code of 1688 (cited in Marshall 1986: 6). The code restricted the slaves' travel to other plantations, especially during weekends and holidays, and outlawed "drums, blow horns, [and]... any other loud instruments" (ibid.). However, the Slave Code of 1688 did not change slaves habits in Barbados. Slaves continued to travel across the island to other plantations for events like weddings, funerals, and weekend celebrations because slave owners believed that these events were moments of their slaves' relaxation and rejuvenation that led to the slaves' hard work upon their return from these events. They also continued to perform African-derived music during celebrations by utilizing musical instruments that were available (Marshall 1986: 7).

The largest event slaves participated in was 'Harvest Home' or Crop Over. Documentation of this event during the slavery era is from the nineteenth century. The event was celebrated during the 'free days' Bajan planters gave slaves at end of harvest time. 'Harvest Home' was a time when slaves practiced abandon as the end of plenty occurs with the end of sugarcane harvest and the beginning of the hard times or time of

lack when there is little work on the plantations (cited in Marshall 198: 8). Numerous ‘Harvest Home’ celebrations were held throughout Barbados. There were celebrations held by a group of plantations and celebrations held by individual plantations. The annual celebrations were rare occasion of excessive spending by the plantation owners (YouTube.com). The celebrations consisted of large feasts, dances, and music for the slaves and their owners to participate and consume. Music was an important part of the ‘Harvest Home’ celebrations. It was documented that after the slave owners retired to their homes, slaves would continue the celebration late into the night playing music and dancing in their villages within their villages (YouTube.com). The music was described as lively and perfect for dancing with energetic bands playing melodies and rhythms from West Africa (Marshall 1986: 9). The vocal music sung during the celebrations was part of a larger tradition of vocal music originating in West Africa and used in a number of events and situations. Vocal music was a group activity that used to African/Black slaves’ voices to create loud and expressive musical sounds (Marshall 1986: 11). Bajan vocal music consisted of songs alternating between verses and choruses. All songs also included call and response where “one or several [people] started the song and developed it musically and textually through short phrase, while the group provided relief in a repetitive, recurring refrain that was positioned between verses or phrases” (Marshall 1986:10).

On the surface, the celebrations were avenues for plantation owners to publically display their wealth and good fortune. Slave owners believed weekend and ‘Harvest Home’ events were “essentially psychological release” and show the slaves’ “cultural exuberance without political intent” (YouTube.com). These events allowed Bajan slaves

to establish their collective identity through self-expression and enforce their image as a human population amongst themselves under the guise of their masters' masquerade as a benevolent slave owner.

The celebrations were also the space where the biggest form of slave resistance called the War of General Bussa, which occurred in 1816, was organized. The rebellion ended with a number of Afro-bajan slaves dead or sent to exile. A slave named Bussa who claimed to be from the Bussa people led the rebellion. Even though much of his background is unknown, it is believed that he was a privileged slave, which allowed him to travel across the island and organize social and cultural events (Beckles 2006, 112). The social events held by privileged slaves were spaces for openly candid conversation and possible slave resistance organization. The dissemination of news across the West Indies created transnational relationships between fellow slaves and slave owners and provides evidence of slave resistance in Barbados. Bajan slaves had a number of disadvantages compared to other Caribbean islands. Its relatively flat topography left slaves no places of refuge for attempted escapes and the miniscule Amerindian population could offer little help in terms of intel and manpower during attempted resistances. When news of resistance from Kalinago Amerindians of other Caribbean territories reached Barbados, Bajan slaves found an avenue of escape and Bajan slaves that did escape from slavery emigrated to nearby islands with sizable Kalinago Amerindian populations where they were eventually became African maroons a part of the Kalinago nation (Beckles 2006, 23). Despite Bajan marronage, Bajan slaves were seen as the model slaves in the Caribbean region due to their seemingly quick

adaptability. African slaves interacted with lower class whites to quickly become Barbadian showing the island's efficient creolization process.

The war of General Bussa was surprising to the Bajan plantocracy because they believed slaves were complacent with their lives. The rebellion began on Easter Sunday (April 14th) of 1816. For Bajan slaves, the goal of the rebellion was to fight for their freedom by having the plantocracy cry for water during the rebellion's duration (Beckles 2006, 110). Arson was the slaves' primary tactic to scare the plantocracy on the first day. The rebellion lasted only three days due to the advanced weapons and resulting power imperial troops on the island and local militia (Beckles 2006, 109). Many of the deaths resulting from the rebellion were Afro-Bajan slaves. Afro-Bajan slaves who survived the rebellion were sent Sierra Leone to what Beckles describes as "an ironic punishment for attempting to gain their freedom (Beckles 2006, 164). Based on the volume of punishment received after the rebellion, the White Bajan planters defeated Afro-Bajans; however, the rebellion struck fear into the plantocracy and weakened the economy through the slaves' destruction of plantations.

After General Bussa: Barbados After Slavery Emancipation

The war of General Bussa, despite its short timespan, had a big impact on Afro-Bajans. The rebellion struck fear into plantation and slave owners and it was the first widespread display of discontent among slaves. There was another rebellion similar to the one in 1816 after the emancipation of slavery. African and black slavery's end made Barbados's title of "Little England" important to the newly emancipated slaves. The title allowed slaves to believe they are part of a great colony rather than formerly owned blacks. Freed slaves then aspired to be English gentlemen and ladies to erase their slave

pasts, and finally have better lives for themselves and their future generations. However, slavery emancipation in 1838 Barbados did not guarantee freedom nor a better standard of living for Afro-Bajan slaves. Many slaves still had to work on the plantations.

"Villages were cramped. Houses were roofed with cane trash. Hard ground-dirt was the flooring for these village houses. Mattresses, if they existed, were made with kuss-kuss or sour grass" (Mottley 2003: 231-2). Low wages and laws discouraging Afro-Bajans from emigrating to other islands and/or frequently switching plantations for better wages caused many Afro-Bajans outside of the elite to have poor standards of living (Beckles 2006: 152). The plantocracy fought to make sure Afro-Bajans had little opportunity to advance in Bajan society creating an economical environment as close to slavery as possible. By the late 1840s, land in Barbados was the most expensive in the Caribbean, and the plantocracy took advantage of these prices to prevent the economic and social advancement of the emancipated Afro-Bajan slaves. Almost exactly sixty years after the war of General Bussa there was another rebellion organized by the Afro-Bajan to overthrow the plantocracy called the war of General Green, also known as the 1876 workers rebellion. Bajan workers, primarily of African descent, sought social and racial equality. They were hoping to end the planters' oligarchy and alter Bajan laws limiting Bajan laborers opportunities to economically and socially advance in Bajan society. The workers rebellion utilized 1,000 laborers divided into ten 100-men units. The units went to estates across the island raiding the estate grounds for food, destroy their employers' estates properties, and threaten planters who were rumored to be racist and abusive.

These two rebellions show how temporality, especially the concepts of waiting and expectation, were and are used to display power and control. After the war of

General Bussa, the Bajan plantocracy were fearful of another rebellion during the Easter holidays. Easter, as a holiday celebrating Jesus Christ's death and resurrection, encouraged Afro-Bajans to believe in their eventual ascension to economic and social freedom in Barbados. The concept of waiting and expectation was used against Afro-Bajans during and after the slavery period by the plantocracy. Afro-Bajans' sense of time was under the control of the plantocracy. Afro-Bajans used these concepts to fight for their freedom.

The Nation of Barbados

It would be approximately ninety years after the War of General Green until Barbados became an independent nation. Afro-Bajans, especially those of the working or lower class, were still fighting for equality that was promised to them after slavery emancipation. The fight for civil rights for the working class in the colonial plantocracy of Barbados continually revealed the interaction between masquerade and respectability within Bajan culture. On the surface, masquerade is synonymous with social inversions through bacchanal and freedom from hegemonic belief due to its association with carnival. Respectability is associated with moderation and is shallowly antagonistic with the concept of masquerade. The main political conflicts on Barbados's journey to independence were between radical and conservative political groups.

New Ways to Rebel

During the early twentieth century, temporary emigration and social institutions, such as friendly societies, fraternal lodges, and land ships, provided a foundation for political organizations geared toward working class Afro-Bajans. The building of the

Panama Canal in 1905 involved many Bajan men temporarily emigrating to Panama for employment. The mass emigration to Panama provided the lower class Bajans an opportunity to shake the island's dominant agricultural economy. Many working class Bajans threatened plantation owners with migration, thus using the canal construction to fight for better wages for plantation labourers. Many working Bajans stepped out of social decorum to make. Despite plantation owners maintaining their low wages, the lower class experienced other benefits from the migration to Panama. The temporary emigration allowed some Bajan men and families to socially advance in Bajan society with the wages earned in Panama also known as 'Panama money.' Bajan men used 'Panama money' to buy small plots of land sold by planters avoiding economic ruin and changed the island's patterns of landownership (Beckles 2012, 211).

Bajan planters wanted to maintain their social superiority through cultural institutions since merchants and Afro-Bajans were elevating themselves in Bajan societies. Cricket during the late nineteenth century was simultaneously used by the white and colored property owners and black laborers for cultural hegemony and resistance respectively. White planters believed Cricket, as an aspect of social culture, would aid in maintenance of class distinctions in Bajan society. Cricket clubs and competitions were organized by the players' social class. Clubs with upper and middle class membership followed "the English standard of sport ethics" and used their submission to these rules were considered displays of patriotism (Beckles 2006, 216). Afro-Bajans of the lower class also played Cricket. They modified the game to make it appropriate for alleys and plantation tracks. Cricket matches played by the lower classes were more aggressive than the matches played by their elite counterparts. The lower class' radical playing style was

a form of cultural resistance and autonomy through creolization. The aggressiveness of their cricket playing was a form of masquerade because their playing styles ensured the White upper classes that Afro-Bajans could never play the sport with the appropriate technique. Lower class Afro-Bajans proved to be technically skilled at the White planters' sport. Some of the greatest Bajan cricket players came out of this lower social class (Ibid.). Their unique playing style allowed lower class Afro-Bajans to become enthusiastic spectators and fans and helped permanently change the game.

The Revivalist church was another example of cultural resistance and autonomy. Evangelicals from the Christian Mission began preaching on the island in the late nineteenth century. This group along with the Church of God, Pilgrim Holiness, and the Salvation Army allowed Afro-Bajans to create Christian churches that were self-governed and for the people. By the early twentieth century, these churches were prevalent in Barbados. Afro-Bajan preachers became “the embodiment of respectability, social morality and community leadership” (Beckles 2006, 222). These preachers’ “lively musical and theatrical” preaching style displayed Afro-Bajans’ autonomy from the hegemonic Anglican Church (Ibid.). The preaching style appealed to Afro-Bajans as their form of aesthetics was deemed appropriate for the preaching of the Gospel and the conversion of souls to Christ, an important aspect of many Bajan’s individual and collective identity. Revivalist churches became an important social institution among Afro-Bajans because it provided another cultural connection with blacks from the United States. More importantly, they gave Afro-Bajans the opportunity to deny conformity to the Anglican Church as the only method of achieving social respectability (Beckles 2012, 220).

Radicalism and Respectability: The Road to Civil Rights and Independence

The concepts of and the conflict between radicalism and respectability in politics was prominent during the twentieth century in pre-independence Barbados with the Barbados Democratic League. In 1924, Charles O'Neale co-founded the Barbados Democratic League. Many of the radical leaders were educated abroad in Western Europe and came into contact with socialist movements that were in favor of decolonization (Beckles 2012, 224). These people strived to create a socialist nation that was independent from their colonial rule. The Barbados Democratic League was strengthened by international Black Power movements. Bajan members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, also known as UNIA, founded Marcus Garvey supported the political organization (Beckles 2006, 225). The League's goal was to influence Barbados's Legislative Council by running for seats in Parliament. Despite the planters' negative image of the Barbados Democratic League, the league themselves believed and publicized their noble intentions by noting the Christian foundations of their socialist yet moderate political agenda. (Beckles 2006, 225-6). Some followers of the Barbados Democratic League were seen as societal disturbances with their participation in the 1937 Worker's Rebellion and their involvements in other protests for working class rights. Radicalism became associated with aspirations to dismantle the planters' social and economic dominance and participation in civil rights protests for working class Bajans. This thoughts and activities were outside of boundaries of Bajan decorum otherwise known as respectability. This loss of respectability for the group and damage to the group's image caused a divide within the Democratic League. In 1938, a year after the Worker's Rebellion, the Barbados Labour Party was founded. Grantley Adams, a

lawyer turned politician who was liked by professional Blacks and Whites, became its leader. During his studies in England he aligned himself as Liberal Party member. The Barbados Labour Party aimed to “provide political expression for the island’s law-abiding inhabitants” (Beckles 2006, 246). Adams believed that civil rights could be achieved through less violent means thus appeasing the British and white Barbadians and became an opponent to the socialism of the Labour Party.

Grantley Adams was cautious throughout his political career. His political philosophy and goals were always moderate. He believed that he can achieve rights for the working class while keeping the British empire and Bajan planters content. He fought to reform England’s colonial power over the region. Adams was the face of respectability; he fought for voiceless Bajans’ rights while leaving a remnant of Barbados’s hegemonic foundation. He was a minimal threat to White Bajans because he believed that Black radical Bajans were out of line and disrespectful. Radical Bajans believed that he could one day be persuaded to join in their activities since both wanted to achieve civil rights for Afro-Bajans. However, Adams popularity made it difficult for radical politicians and activist to politically survive as he frequently discredited potential movements by the group. To survive, radicals had to change their approach to achieving civil rights. Workers’ unions met to talk about politics under the guise of social assimilation. Meetings began with the British national anthem and included singing and praying allowing outsiders to believe these meetings were harmless with their religious and pro-British overtones (Beckles 2006, 227). This was seen as one of the few ways to plan for the working class’ vigorous of “wealth [and] property” for “the black race would gain respect and power” (Ibid.). Adams political ambition helped him achieve numerous

laws that contributed to the goal of civil rights for Afro-Bajans, such as the abolition of child labor and adult suffrage for all Bajans. On the other hand, his ambition and desire for respectability were his ultimate downfall.

In between the World Wars, the idea of a British West Indian (Caribbean) Federation emerged during a 1932 conference in Dominica. It was fifteen years later when the Barbados Labour Party became a leading supporter of the federation due to the change in political climate from the World Wars. The war era widened Bajans' view of the world through males' participation in the wars and the media consumption of political commentary about the wars. Bajan males' involvement in World War II (WWII) as soldiers under the British flag galvanized the questioning of the West's perception of Barbados. Bajan soldiers realized Bajans were never considered to be British. Even though Barbados was called "Little England," it could never be as great as the nation of England. Their involvement in World War II also created more relational ties with other Caribbean islands through their interactions with West Indian soldiers. The war taught Afro-Bajans and other peoples of the African Diaspora that they were only seen as tools for labor in the modern West and could never be modern despite their integral role in creating Western modernity (Bascomb 2013, 19).

This change in worldview made it easy for Adams to prime the island for integration into a region (Beckles 2006, 271). His moderate political nature transformed into a conservative one as he strove to improve his image internationally. As the leader of the dominant Barbados Labour Party, Adams's frequent absences slowed progress in social reforms leaving many discontent. His conservative nature forced more radical members of the Barbados Labour Party, most notably Errol Barrow, to leave. Politicians

working to help the working class realized the Adam's conservatism would only yield their respectability among the planter-merchant elites rather than equality for all Bajans. Radicals of the Barbados Labour Party formed the Democratic Labour Party, in 1955, to campaign for socialist reforms education, healthcare, and public aid and the reduction of social inequality. The Barbados Labour Party and the Democratic Labour Party became the two new parties fight to take control of Barbados's identity and image.

As a new political party, it was hard to overtake Adams and the Barbados Labour Party in the Barbadian government. Adams continued to lead Barbados into the British West Indian Federation. In 1956, it was decided that the islands would form the federation as soon as possible during the London conference. A year later, Trinidad was identified as the proposed federal capital. Despite disagreements from the other British territories, the choice made sense. World War II galvanized the introduction of modern Trinidadian calypso to Barbados and the rest of the Caribbean as calypso became popular in the United States. In 1939, well-known Trinidadian calypsonians formed the Trinidad Calypso and Musicians Advertising Association and Trinidad's Carnival Improvement Committee became proactive in using carnival as a major tourist attraction and increasing the standards of calypso (Rohlehr 1990, 327-8). Trinidad became an example of carnival organization and musician management across the region. The island led the Caribbean region in the exportation of Caribbean, more specifically Trinidadian, culture internationally and became the region's cultural capital. Due to Trinidad's efforts to improve and increase its image internationally and attempts to politically unify the Caribbean as a region, efforts had to be made by the Bajan government and people to create a positive international image. Adams sought to create a cabinet system of

government and became the Premier (Ibid.). Once the federation was formed in 1958, Barbados was allocated five seats in the Federal Assembly and Adams became the Federal Prime Minister. He realized his dreams to fill a high political office.

A few years after the creation of the federation, island territories began leaving the federation. Adams lost his political control over Barbados once becoming the Federal Prime Minister and the Democratic Labour Party dominated the Barbadian cabinet. Errol Barrow of the Democratic Labour Party became the Barbados's new Premier. Like Adams, Barrow's ultimate goal was to improve the lives of Bajans and improve the image of the island. Barrow and other leaders from federation islands demanded financial assistance for less economically developed islands and the eventual freedom of the Caribbean region from the British Colonial Office in order for the remaining islands to maintain the federation. Little was done by the Colonial Office to improve the conditions of lesser-developed islands. The British Colonial Office's lack of commitment to the plans they agreed to made Barrow and the Democratic Labour Party realize that the Federation no longer could be maintained and it was time for Barbados to become independent. Barrow's government implemented free secondary education in public schools and established the Barbados campus of the University of the West Indies in 1962 and 1963 respectively. This government also shifted Barbados's economical focus from agricultural to industrial (Beckles 2006, 276). In 1963, the government passed the Industrial Development Act and Export Industries Act. Industrial plants were built and tourism became an important industry creating thousands of jobs. The overthrowing of sugar as the Barbadian economical forerunner was important for Afro-Bajans. Afro-Bajans believed Barrow and the Democratic Labour Party could weaken the economic

power held by the white corporate elite and move away from the island's colonial foundation (Beckles 2006, 279).

Barrow's government prepared for Barbadian independence before approaching the Colonial Office about the idea. The British government recognized the economic progress made by the Democratic Labour Party in 1965. A year later, Barbados achieved independence with the Queen of England's blessing. The concept of respectability remained to be an important aspiration in the newly independent Barbadian government. The government system was modeled after England. The biggest changes to come along with independence was the creation of a two party system consisting of the Barbados Labour Party and the Democratic Labour Party and the elimination of planter-merchant's political party, the Barbados National Party (Beckles 2006, 281). This represented a change in Bajan respectability. Bajans were free to create their own identities free from British power and the power of the planter-merchant class. This was evident in the constant transition between governments dominated by the working class supported Democratic Labour Party and the elite supported Barbados Labour Party. The new goal for the newly independent Barbados was to create a national identity that was more than its colonial past.

Independent Barbados

Less than a decade after Barbados gained its independence, the Barbadian government made efforts to change Barbados's economy and solidify Bajan culture. It was the beginning of a path that Barbados is still on today; becoming a developed country based on international standards. Barbados and the other Commonwealth Caribbean islands became the Caribbean Free Trade Association, commonly known

CARIFTA, in 1965. CARIFTA members subsequently created and joined the Caribbean Community and Common Market, also known as CARICOM (Beckles 2006, 284). After the failure of the West Indian Federation, Barbados's membership in CARIFTA and CARICOM allowed the nation to become heavily involved in the Caribbean region. Barbados put itself in the position of balancing national and regional interests.

A year after the beginning of CARICOM, the government took over the organization of Crop Over. The year 1974 was Crop Over's rebirth and the debut of the festival's current form. As stated earlier, this form of Crop Over began as tourist attraction and has evolved into a cultural industry over the past four decades. Crop Over allowed Barbados to compete with other Caribbean islands in tourism by increasing the number of attractions tourists could enjoy. The government's organization of the festival was another attempt to increase respectability within Bajan culture. The masquerade used in the pageants and costume bands during the festival remained the highlight as it promoted escape from daily life through carnival. Despite masquerade being the highlight of Crop Over, music is a crucial part of the festival. The new Crop Over became a performing space for Bajan musicians and a space where aspects of Bajan music was confirmed and/or challenged. It also became an indication of Barbados's increased interest in cultural industries and cultural maintenance. Crop Over includes theatrical and dance productions, art exhibits, and church services in addition to musical performances and costume bands. The government highly encourages businesses in the private sector to sponsor these events. Crop Over is much more than a festival that generates revenue for the government and private sector. It is an event where cultural practitioners display their craft for an international space. In the twentieth-first century, cultural industries are

the new focus for the government due to its economic potential. It allows Bajans to have an active role in defining Bajan culture while stimulating the economy. Currently, Barbados struggles to appease Bajans and the international realm. The nation, like most of the world, is in debt. Bajans also sees corruption prevailing through the government. Some Bajans also think Bajan culture is being devoured by American imperialism through American popular culture or Barbados has no culture. Complaints are being made by Bajans during radio shows and private conversations. Bajans are waiting for their voices to be heard on a bigger scale. They want to be the ‘gem of the Caribbean’ while simultaneously maintaining national and regional pride.

Barbados’s Musical History

To conclude this chapter, I will discuss the history of calypso in Barbados and show how musical performance, like politics, encounter conflicts about national image. Music in Barbados is one of the avenues that have the potential to increase Barbados’s soft power and national pride. Music on the island allows Bajans to have a sense of rootedness. Calypso’s history in Barbados shows the island’s ongoing conflict with between resistance through masquerade and maintaining respectability in Barbados and abroad. It also shows the genre’s evolution as a celebrated cultural performance and product.

African slaves in Barbados thought music was a source of aesthetic pleasure, philosophical perspective, and social interactions. It allowed slaves to create harmonious relationship with the spiritual realm and apply concepts of identity and responsibility in social situations. Trevor Marshall claims that during the slavery era created a musical

genre similar to calypso (Marshall 1986,12). This indigenous form of calypso contradicts common perceptions of Bajan culture by creating the image of a home to an alternative calypso form. However, this Bajan calypso form was eliminated by the Anglican Church after emancipation because Afro- Bajan music was unacceptable in the Christian colony and British religious songs replaced Afro-Bajans music (Marshall 1986, 22). Christian missionaries, Anglican officials, and politicians were trying to make Afro-Bajans assimilate to British culture to have Afro-Bajans become “English rustics in Black Skin” (Marshall 1986, 21). Post emancipation calypsonians and folk singers could not maintain the Afro-Bajan music because they were denied opportunities to earn living wages due to their deviant behavior (Marshall 1986, 22). According to Marshall, Anglican officials began an eighty-year submersion of Afro-Bajan music, especially calypso. The eighty-year period was the first blow to Bajan calypso and questions current Bajan calypso indigeneity. During this time period, Tuk Band music was the primary music genre of resistance and, it continues to be seen as Barbados’s only indigenous music genre.

Calypso was not revived in Barbados until the Second World War when Trinidadians and Barbadians had increased interaction.

Bajan calypso was maintained for almost a century by the people. It was passed down orally and came back with roving musicians. Shilling Agard, one of these musicians, was the precursor to modern calypsonians in the mid- to late- twentieth century along with his contemporaries. With his guitar in hand, Agard sang songs about about Bajan society near rum shops. During that period, calypso was seen as a musical genre for the lower class and considered a form of recreation rather than a profession in Barbados despite calypso’s commercial success in Trinidad (Marshall 1986, 26). Calypso became a genre

associated with holidays strengthening its status as a musical hobby (Best 2012, 19). The Bajan calypso sound was disregarded making the Trinidadian calypso sound supreme in Barbados. Due to Trinidad's prominence in the calypso genre, Bajan calypsonians faced discrimination during inter-island calypso competitions and became apprehensive toward the idea of performing in Trinidad. Bajan calypsonians failed to get international recognition. The lack of local and international support caused some Bajan calypsonians to mimic Trinidadian styles.

During the 1960s, Bajan calypsonians struggled to achieve local recognition. Trinidadian and Catholicism focused carnival, a platform that produced fame for Trinidadian calypsonians, came to Barbados's through the Jaycees, Barbados's Junior Chamber of Commerce. The Jaycees's carnival was a pre-Lenten event and was designed to raise money for various charities. The event was a failure and lasted less than a decade. A calypso competition emerged two years after the first carnival. The number of calypsonians steadily grew, but the competition was unfruitful for Barbados's calypso community. Attendance was low and, calypsonians complained of a lack of support (Marshall 1986, 30-1). A group of white Bajans called the Merryman helped calypso in Barbados from disappearing off the island in the 1960s. Their race allowed the band's members to become popular while performing Bajan folk songs and calypsos from various Caribbean islands.

The 1970s was a time of Crop Over's revival and a Bajan calypso Renaissance. Afro-Bajan calypsonians led the creation of calypso's stage form. Marshall states that Crop Over's revival was serendipitous for Bajan calypso. The number of Bajan calypsonians increased along with calypso's value within Bajan calypso. Calypsonians

became village and parish heroes. Even middle class Afro-Bajans became calypsonians. Bajans came to think of calypso as "a music of protest, satire, polemical statements as well as a music of dance and revelry" (Marshall 1986, 33). As a result, Crop Over became a space for calypso promotion.

At the end of the 1970s, famous calypsonians created Barbados's first calypso tent called Battleground. Tents provided better management and promotions. The tents' advent gave Bajans options for calypso performances and created a new layer of competition (Marshall 1986, 34). Calypsonians' identity also included their tent affiliations. Competitions then occurred between the tents as well.

Keyboard/synthesizer became prominent in the 1970s when spouge music emerged and became popular. It was meant to replace the guitar (Best 1999, 28). The emergence of the keyboard synthesizer was part of a musical technology obsession that reached its height during the 1990s. The popularity of American popular music in Barbados was the cause of this craze. Bajan musicians believed that they would gain more credibility as performers if they had musical instruments and equipments similar to musicians abroad. Better technology gave musicians a clearer sound without buying too much equipment (Best 1999, 91). Spouge performers would also perform in other genres. Some spouge vocalists became calypsonians. Tony Grazette increased the interaction between calypsonians and their bands (Best 1999, 28).

During the 1980s, Barbados experienced the introduction of FM radio. FM radio was part of the increasing influence of Western popular culture had in Barbados. Radio stations in Barbados primarily focused on circulating Western pop hits rather than Bajan music. This was also the decade when world music and world beat became popular in the

international music industry. Bajan bands constantly changed their playing styles to match the international music industry's trends. This musical experimentation was also seen with calypsonians. Mighty Gabby's professional relationship with Eddy Grant, producer at Ice Records, was space where experiments with calypso were conducted and changed how calypso is created and performed.

In the 1980s, Mighty Gabby's calypso, "Boots," was approximately 120 beats per minute, 30 beats per minute over the typical calypso tempo. Gabby and other calypsonians performed and recorded their calypsos with faster tempos during this period. Audiences liked the change and increased the commercial consumption of calypso. Successful calypsonians in Barbados began to record more often, thus becoming recording artists. The local popularity led to a change in musical criteria for calypso competitions (Best 1999, 76). This change that is still seen today, with even faster tempos, shows the agency calypsonians have to change the genre's musical standards. This decade was also a period when the typical image of a calypsonian changed in Bajan calypso competitions. There have been a few renowned female calypsonians in Trinidad that have shattered the notion of only black males being calypsonians. It was not until 1988 when Bajans saw that it was possible for a female to win the Pic-o-de Crop competition when Rita won the crown. On the other hand, her win was contested and some people do not acknowledge the win. The JCMP was implemented in 1986. This developmental program further changed the image of a calypsonian to include children. The JCMP has a more balanced ratio of male to female winners than the Pic-o-de-Crop challenging the notion of gender in calypso.

In the 1990s, Bajan calypsonians recorded with major record labels (Best 1999, 95). Soca bands, like Krosfyah and Square One, and artists were gaining international fame. It was also a time when home studios increased in number facilitating an increase in recordings of Bajan music. In the twenty-first century, more Bajans were able to perform outside of the Caribbean region. Artists like Kevin Lyttle, Alison Hinds, and Rihanna had hits in the United States and increased Barbados's international popularity. More importantly, it showed Bajan music meeting international standards in popular music.

On one hand, Maud Karpeles claims folk music relies on three processes: continuity, variation and selections by the community (cited in Best 1999, 48). This fits the processes that keep calypso alive in Barbados through calypso competitions. On the other hand, she believes folk songs have the ability to evolve and this ability is weakened or eliminated when it is recorded and distributed. Best believes that the barriers between Western distinctions between popular and folk music are permeable in the Caribbean. Even though many Bajan calypsonians, junior and adult, do not frequently record their calypsos due to financial reasons, their past performances continue to exist due to the CBC. Throughout the Crop Over season, portions of past Bajan calypso competitions are played during breaks between their programming. The archive of calypso performances from past Crop Over seasons prove that calypso is considered a celebrated art form in Bajan culture and shows genres can move between and beyond the three big music classifications: folk, classical, and popular. This permeability makes calypso a genre that vacillates between the popular and folk genres. Lyrically, calypso's lyrics "engage with and evoke substantial levels of communal sentiment" (Best 1999, 50). This is

accomplished through the social commentary of sad and happy topics. Happy or cheerful topics complement Crop Over's bacchanalian sentiments while more serious topics can cause communal sadness and reflection. Calypso's music along with lyrical devices allows serious topics to sound light-hearted through masquerade to encourage bacchanalian sentiments.

Chapter Three: Masks of the Young Voices of the People: An Analysis of JCMP

Lyrics

Pop, Folk or, Both: The Classification of Calypso

The concept of folk in conjunction with the arts was created in eighteenth century Germany by Johann Gottfried von Herder. Herder believed that cosmopolitanism and the enlightenment exacerbated the cultural fragmentation of Germanic-speaking states when the current country of Germany was divided in a plethora of district courts after the Reformation, Counter Reformation, and the Thirty Years War (Reily 2). Herder believed that the regional peasants were the key to creating regionalism within the region that is now known as Germany. He believed the arts practiced by the peasants were purely German unlike the arts practiced by the elites which was tainted with other European influences. The concept of folk then became a term to describe a repository of “authentic” local heritage and grew in popularity globally in the proceeding centuries. It was put in direct opposition with art music, more specifically western classical music. Art music was an entity that was done for its existence; there was no other function for art music outside of being beauty in terms of the standards of beauty at the time. Only a selected few were able to perform and consume this type of music leading to class distinctions based on artistic tastes in some societies. Folk music, on the other hand, provided people to remember their respective nations as part of their identities increasing nationalism. Folk music could be performed by anyone, but it was primarily associated with people belong to low social classes.

Popular music was associated with mass communications and commercialism. In contrast with the other two categories, many believe popular music is overly simplistic

when compared to art music and popular music is too manufactured or “fake” when compared to folk music. It was a music for everybody, but it was seen as the least original. A number of factors, including but not limited to social mobility, mass production, technological advances, and globalization, have made the boundaries between art music, folk music, and popular music permeable. Currently, musical performances and recordings of any category and genre can be consumed by anyone. Experimentation with the integration of various musical genres and changes in aesthetics weaken the distinctions between the three categories.

Distinct classifications between folk, classical, and popular music does not correspond to music outside of the West and the advent of recordings and the world music industry makes the classifications less applicable. The difficulties encountered when classifying calypso is intensified when the genre's past and its connection with soca music are analyzed. Modern Trinidadian calypso permeated the Caribbean during the 1930s and 40s with radio and records. It was during this time several Trinidadian calypsonians had international success. Calypso became popular outside of the region due to a diluted version of the genre. The famous American trio, The Andrews Sisters, recorded a cover of “Rum and Coca-Cola” in the mid-1940s. The cover was a hit despite the lyrics’ criticism of American military occupation in Trinidad. At this time, calypso became a genre with potential to have large international appeal.

Soca is described as a musical offshoot of calypso. It is considered a popular music genre. The soca's name derives from the combination of soul and calypso and reflects the genre's original musical influences. Soca music extensively uses synthesizers and of the forms of music technology heard in American and European popular musics.

Soca, like dancehall, has large repertoires of songs that use the same studio created beat. Soca lyrics and performances are focused on encouraging bacchanalian sentiments among audiences (Harewood, 2006, 2013; Guilbault 2000, 2007, 2013). Soca is used during the majority of fêtes held on the island. Soca is the musical focal point of Crop Over's most anticipated and attended events: Foreday Morning and Grand Kadooment. Both of these events are the epitome of bacchanal and visual masquerade. Soca became a genre associated with having fun. It holds none of the associations with raising social awareness with social commentary. Soca has become more popular than calypso and has more international exposure. Soca artists have greater chances to perform outside of the Caribbean region. Soca has been mentioned because many calypsonians are or will become soca artists at some point in their careers. Many calypsonians are simultaneously soca artists. In media, singers described in the previous sentence are described as calypsonians. The classification makes calypso a name encompassing calypso and soca in the opinion of some.

The rules of Crop Over music competitions provide guidelines to the codifying performance of Bajan calypso. Rules must be followed if the participant wants to compete. All participants of Crop Over music competitions are required to be a citizen, legal resident, or actively pursuing legal residency (NCF: 2014 Competition Rule and Entry Form). This rule reinforces Crop Over as a display of Bajan culture. This rule in the Junior Calypso Monarch Programme and Pic-o-de-Crop reinforces calypso as “the people’s newspaper.” With calypsonians deemed “the people’s voice or reporter,” calypsonians are required to be long-time residents and citizens. Bajan calypso competitions become exclusive to Bajan adults and youth that have lived in Barbados for

the majority or entirety of their lives (Guilbault, Negus ed. 2002, 198). Calypsonians living only a short time in Barbados before entering competitions would not get the support of the crowd because they do not understand the Bajan mindset and culture to become the people's voice. The citizenship rule makes calypso a folk genre because it is primarily tailored to the people of the nation.

The musical competitions held during Crop Over enforce musical distinctions and define characteristics for each genre within the competition rules. The adult competitions, Sweet Soca Monarch, Party Monarch, and Pic-o-de-Crop, have rules dictating the competition song's tempo. The rules provide adult and junior calypsonians strict guidelines for orchestration. The orchestration outlined in the rules can only be augmented. None of the instruments can be excluded. In addition to that rules, the JCMP also holds an optional, yet encouraged, calypso workshop that marks beginning of the program's season. For the junior calypsonians, the JCMP is an institution where they can learn about Bajan calypso.

Calypso is a seasonal genre. In Trinidad, calypso's raunchy lyrics and themes in the genre's origins were considered sinful by colonists for religious and cultural reason. There was a colonial ordinance stating that calypso can only be performed during carnival season and this has stayed an unwritten rule in Trinidad & Tobago and other islands, like Barbados (Guilbault, Negus, ed., 2002). In Barbados, calypso was not considered a respectable activity. Some parents would shield their children from the sounds if they heard a roaming calypsonian pass. As the genre became accepted as a part of Bajan culture, it found a place during Crop Over and festivals celebrating Bajan and Caribbean culture. Currently, very few calypso concerts are held outside of carnival

seasons in the Caribbean and Caribbean diaspora. Calypso's seasonality prevents the genre from having a growth in popularity similar to growth seen with other Caribbean genres such as, dancehall and soca.

The promotion of calypso performers also slows down its international recognition. There are few stars in Trinidad, as well as in Barbados. This is because calypsonians are part of a calypso tent for most of their careers. Calypso tents function on a promotional and organizational system called the "anti-star system" (Guilbault 2007,). Calypso songs are composed for a national audience. Only regions that have experienced the same issues can at least understand and relate to the central message. On the other hand, the word play and dialects used in the lyrics make it hard for anyone not born into or accustomed to Caribbean culture to understand.

Youthful Words: Lyrics in the JCMP

Calypsos in early twentieth century Trinidad called oratorical calypso or *sans humanité* calypso was a musical space that allowed calypsonians to display their status as a man-of-words within their community (Rohlehr 1990: 65). It allowed the calypsonian to become a figure bigger than life as they prove their superiority over each other. The importance of lyrics, especially word play through lyrical devices and eloquence, has been transferred from the oratorical calypso period to narrative calypso. The man of words was now associated with telling a story rather than self-boasting. Social commentary became the quintessential form of calypso throughout the Caribbean with Barbados being no exception.

Calypso lyrics are a display of masquerade. The calypsos' social critique is veiled behind wordplay with the use of literary devices, like puns, metaphors, and hyperbole, in the lyrics to create a sweet song to occasionally sing along with or possibly dance to. During an interview with Chrystal Cummins Beckles, calypsonian, arranger, and pianist for the JCMP festival band, said she usually creates lyrics for the junior calypsonians from compositions they write on a topic they are interested in (Personal Interview with Chrystal Cummins Beckles, 2014). Calypso lyrics are a form of composition that has a clear thesis and supporting evidence presented theatrically and musically. With the calypso performed during the JCMP classified as social commentary, the JCMP calypsos each have a central message to convey. This section analyzes several calypsos performed during the 2014 JCMP on how their central messages are being conveyed to the audience.

Each calypso was divided into a category based on the overall theme of the calypso, but they all intersect in their purpose to comment on the masquerade of the promoted mythical Barbados and the reality Bajans face everyday.

Restless Men, Dedicated Men: The Role of the Father in the Bajan Family

Family dynamics is a common theme in the JCMP. The family is usually the first source of social interaction for a child. The family is the children's first teacher of the intricacies of Bajan society. Family dynamics fall under prescribed gender roles and gender stereotypes in individual Caribbean societies, a popular topic for calypsonians in the Caribbean to provide commentary. Most of Barbados's history shows that colonial gender roles were widely followed in Bajan society. English gentlemen and ladies were the epitome of masculinity and femininity in Barbados. Men were designating to the public sphere aspiring to be men of words and industry while women were meant to

remain in the private sphere. Historical accounts of Barbados show that these genders roles were constantly questioned by Afro-Bajans during and after the slavery era; however, they internalized the goal of being like their colonial masters. The dominating male presence has put female calypsonians and females in Caribbean society under scrutiny. As women achieved social and economic advances, their role in the family became more public and contradicted the female's typically accepted place within the home and the private sphere. The males' struggle to live up to the English form of masculinity based on economic success galvanized males' domestic abuse against women to prove they can achieve some form of masculinity. This coupled with the female as the foundation of the Caribbean family allowed females to become bigger targets in calypsos. Female characters were mocked and perceived as the primary cause of a male's misfortune because critical and demanding females stop males to display their "rudeness" during parties (Carpenter and Walters 2011: 355-7). Calypso and soca songs usually depict men as reckless and rude with a bacchanal mentality (352). This coincides with attitudes toward domestic violence in Barbados. In the JCMP, men are typically the gender scrutinized primarily through singing about parental figures. A number of calypsos in the programme have fathers as focal point of his or commentary. In the 2014 JCMP there were three calypsos that talked about fathers, or lack thereof, in Bajan families. Two of these were performed consecutively providing a multifaceted view on fathers in Barbados.

The calypsos "A Child's Plea" and "We Salute You Dads" have contrasting commentaries on fathers in Barbados. Both calypsos begin with video introductions using the Luther Vandross's ballad, "A Dance With My Father." The popular ballad is about the

singer's desire to once again experience his intimate, loving relationship after his father's death. The calypsos' video introductions focus on the importance of fathers in Bajan families through the sentiment of Vandross's ballad.

In "A Child's Plea," the calypsonian, Mighty KT, talks about his experiences with his absentee father. At the beginning of Mighty KT's performance in the 2014 JCMP finals, the junior calypsonian says, "This song is not only for judging. This is my life story." The calypso is focused on an unexpected phone call from his father asking for Mighty KT's forgiveness. "A Child's Plea" is a sung narrative. Throughout the calypso, Mighty KT uses first person pronouns to make the calypso a performance of personal experiences. Mighty KT reminisces about all of his father's broken promises to him as he contemplates forgiving his father. The phone call is a shock. His father never texted nor wrote the calypsonian, and it came to the point that Mighty KT swears his father "is living in Timbuktu." The relationship is similar to, or even more estranged than, a relationship with a stranger because the father "never got to say 'how do you do.'" The line is an example of hyperbole that adds some humor to the calypso, but it also shows how extreme Mighty KT sees the situation. Many of the situations described use hyperbole to show the strained relationship between Mighty KT and his father. Mighty KT saw the sun set and "almost see it rise" waiting for his father to pick him up from school. He also nearly died during a visit to his Granny's house when he was not given a sandwich nor a drink. The use of hyperbole can be seen in typical conversations in Bajan society when people describe events in their lives and display his Bajan identity.

Other situations described with a lack of hyperbole shows the calypsonian's honesty to the calypso from the audience's perspective because it is not veiled in literary

devices. He mentions the numerous times his father missed cricket matches, waiting for his father to come home from a night of partying, and waiting for promised gifts. The lack of hyperbole creates balance in his narrative. Hyperbole can bring some humor to a serious topic while unaltered narrations of situations show a sign of trust and openness between the audience and junior calypsonian. It provides the audience opportunities to relate and empathize with the junior calypsonian through various perspectives. Mighty KT also criticizes his father based on the father's reactions to his responsibilities as a father. The father begrudgingly pays child support seeing it as a chore and constantly blames Mighty KT's mother for the junior calypsonian's distant relationship with his father. The blame placed on the mother by the father originates from the fussy and emotional stereotype placed on Bajan women (Carpenter and Walters 2011: 354) It is during that type of criticism when Might KT describes the hard work of his mother "trying to make ends meet."

The final chorus of "A Child's Plea" reveals Mighty KT's decision on forgiving his father. Despite all of the broken promises and neglect, he chooses to forgive his father. The junior calypsonian knows his father "will face the reality that [Mighty KT] needed his daddy." Towards the end of the calypso, the audience sees a card the Mighty KT "made...for [his] father a while ago." He then reaches out to his father by saying "Daddy if you are watching, listening, if you are here this is for you." The calypso's conclusion shows the audience that children of absentee fathers can forgive their father for all the emotional pain they experience(d). The final line "I needed my daddy" makes Mighty KT's forgiveness a process that does not completely erase his father's past actions and his emotions reacting to these actions, but allows him to have a better

relationship with his father in the future. This calypso is meant to be an example of a common occurrence in Bajan society. Mighty KT wants to create a connection with other Bajans "who need dem daddy" (who need their daddies).

Sparkle T's "We Salute You Dads" is a tribute to her deceased father and fathers who've been and are very involved in their children's lives. Sparkle T believed there were too many calypsos that shed fathers in a negative light. "We Salute You Dads" was an avenue for her to change that trend (Personal Interview with Sparkle T , 2014). This calypso states the equal importance of mothers and fathers in Bajan family dynamics. The calypso begins with Sparkle T's observation on a mother's value within Bajan society. Bajans are "always quick to say ya giving honour...to dearest mother." She is "the one who raised you up." She "tried her best" and "trekked to the moon and back." Sparkle T is commenting on positive stereotypes of Bajan females especially ones that are mothers. Bajan mothers can be very strict, but there are also seen as affectionate and warm (Carpenter and Walters 2011: 352). Sparkle T says most mothers "deserve a life of bliss," but she says "if you mention A, you must mention B." Her positive commentary on Bajan mothers becomes an avenue for her to share "what daddy means to" her.

The chorus of "We Salute You Dads" is Sparkle T expressing her gratitude toward her father for all of his hard work and sacrifices. The message in the chorus, "Daddy, daddy I thank you," is simply and direct. Her father made sure her family was provided when "the going got tough." Sparkle T comments on the commonplace of absentee fathers in Bajan society. "Everyday [she] hears another story" about the young people having no "brought-upcy" Bajan society believes members of the youth are "playing the fool," lack self-control, and "are getting way off track." To Sparkle T, this

problem starts “at the core” with “so-called father figure who run out the door.” This reinforces the junior calypsonian’s idea to salute and thank the fathers who actively raise their children to eventually become people who help their motherland, Barbados. Sparkle T’s father was the one who taught her “to have respect” and always “kept her in check.”

Her salute to her father as a sign of respect shows her father’s positive impact on her life. She also gave salute to the good fathers in the audience to make this song more about the Bajan community and herself, as well as to show she is a competent performer that connects with her audience. She strengthens the bond between herself and the audience when she sings, “Every child should have a dad like the one I had.” The couplet is not intended to show superiority; rather, it shows her understanding of the importance of fathers within families and her appreciation of her good fortune. Her father “instilled values and moral [she] should have.” The calypso is show that not all fathers are “rotten” and “great ones are out there.” Sparkle T believes “dads must be seen as equal” in the role they play in their father’s lives.

“We Salute You Dads” encourages the Bajan community to thank dedicated and involved fathers in Bajan families. Throughout the song the back-up singers sing, “Oh, I thank you daddy” allowing the audience to sing along and acknowledge the presence of good fathers in Bajan societies. The calypso presents positive aspects of the Bajan male and female stereotypes. She wrote the calypso herself. This song is her observation of and perspective on her relationship with her father. She sings that her father cannot hear this song, but the impact and love he gave Sparkle T will remain in her heart. The end of the song has a musical motif from the Whitney Houston song, “I Will Always Love You.” The words famous line and title of the Houston hit were changed to “And I will always

love you daddy” to fit the purpose of her calypso. It was also a device to display the love of her father through a popular culture reference. “I Will Always Love You” is a Pop/R&B ballad that is frequently associated with the intense feeling of love and devotion towards someone else. For Sparkle T, the use of a famous pop hit allowed her to express her love for her father and express how much she misses her father. “We Salute You Dads” becomes a public expression of Sparkle T’s feelings about her father that also functions as a song urging the community to respect and give thanks to Bajan fathers involved in their children’s lives.

“A Child’s Plea” is a calypso that expresses the child’s desire for the father’s involvement in his or her lives. “We Salute You Dads” is a calypso and tribute to a father involved in his children’s lives. “A Child’s Plea,” as stated earlier, is a calypso performance common in the JCMP. Outside of the obvious reasons of having a different performing calypsonian and having different lyrics, Mighty KT’s “A Child’s Plea” is unique based on his professed forgiveness of his father during the calypso. “We Salute You Dads” is unique due to the commentary on involved fathers having a positive impact on their children’s lives. Their classification as children/youth allows their commentary on the father’s role in a child’s life to become convincing because the Bajan society as audience have the opportunity to see how children and youth express their perception on the father’s role in their lives and in Bajan society.

Good Grades, Good Test Scores, and Good Behavior: Questioning the Children and Youth’s Role in Bajan Society

Like the commentary on the role of parental figures, many junior calypsonians comment on the (mis)behaviors of their peers. Bajan children and youth are often

criticized for poor school and test performances, as well as a lack of respect and morality (misbehavior). Elaborating on misbehavior first, many Bajans believe it originates with the popularity of American culture that encouraged violence and lascivious behavior. Misbehavior is then left unchecked at home because of weak family unit usually caused by absentee or careless parents. Misbehaving children are then ignored while promising children are cultivated to promote and enhance Bajan culture. The cultivation of the best is also seen in education. Students that do not perform well in the core subjects (math, science, english, and history) during primary and secondary school are ostracized or ignored by teachers and classmates. These problem children are not seen as future contributing members of Bajan society and, consequently, have no voice in the society as well. Nubian Queen's "My Song" and Dynamo's "Don' Count Me Out" are two calypso that comment on two major criticism about the youth in Bajan culture, misbehaving and education."My Song" talks about all the things Nubian Queen sees going wrong primarily focusing on misbehaving children and the youth's agency in Bajan society. "Don' Count Me Out" focuses on a different approach to predicting a child's future success to the typical good grades and high test scores in the core subjects.

Nubian Queen's calypso "My Song" uses the exploration of choosing a topic for a calypso song to discuss a variety of subjects pertaining to the children and youth's role in Bajan society. The skit introducing her calypso featured three former JCMP participants as assistants to Nubian Queen's current songwriter. The skit shows a common practice for many junior calypsonians--- presenting a list of potential topics to use in the calypso. The assistants have a small argument about which had the hardest song while they waited for Nubian Queen to bring the list of topics she wanted to sing about. When Nubian

Queen arrives, she comes with a list of topics almost as long half the stage having enough topics for the assistants, all the calypso monarchs, and herself.

Nubian Queen begins the song with her yearly struggle with her songwriter to come with a topic for that season's calypso. Whenever her songwriter ask her "What [she] want to sing," she answers: " Girl, I do not know cause I sing 'bout everyting (everything)." Addressing the songwriter as girl in the opening lines show the close relationship the junior calypsonian can have with his or her songwriter. The opening lines also show that she has a number of topics she wants to discuss in the calypso arena and also in everyday life. Nubian Queen wants a "biting topic that deals with serious issues." She does not want to make that topic to be overtly political or religious, two perspectives that can lead to a lot of controversy and public criticism, she just wants a topic that "can air [her] views." This led her to the decision to sing "'bout youth and how they got on so rude." The "training and morals that old people had" as children have disappeared with children and youth "always late for school" and having "no respect for the adults around [as] they cuss and get on bad." She then reminisces about the manners of past generations of Bajan youth--- addressing elders as sir or ma'am, using yes, no, and please when answering questions, eagerly going to school, and getting up for the elder on the bus. Nubian Queen wants all of this in her song because she "wants to address the things that going wrong." She believes her song can "change all the thing that going wrong."

To Nubian Queen, "every year is a constant battle in junior competition." She believes the topics she truly wants to sing about will "cause plenty confusion." She wants to talk about the many observations she has made of Bajan society; however, her age prevents her from providing commentary in a public forum. Many adults in Bajan society

would “muzzle” her and tell her “to shut [her] mouth” because she is young. In past years, she has decided to sing about teen pregnancy and “how children get so practical when studying biology” referring to teen sexual activity. She questions where is the society where children are acting as children should and “playing with ball and bat.” According to Nubian Queen, Children should be “cleaning the house or reading a book.” They should also be asking let their grannies teach [them] how to cook” and “use the brain[s] the Lord gave [them] to think.”

Every year, Nubian Queen hears that “young people is the worst.” Society sees the young people, Nubian Queen’s generation, as a “curse.” To assert her seriousness towards helping Bajan society, she declares she has been studying various Bajan lifestyles. To the Bajan audience, she says she wants “to benefit we” referring to her fellow Bajans creating a sense of solidarity based on nationalism and ethnicity. She makes the well-known, but rarely considered, revelation that “a child don’ go to sleep and wake up so bad” shifting part of the blame to parental figures. This comment reflects a contradiction in Bajan society as children and youth have no voice or agency in the public sphere of Bajan society, but the children and youth receive almost all of the blame for their misbehaviors. From Nubian Queen’s perspective, it is a sad situation because “some parents don’ know ‘bout parenting.” Parents “don’ know a thing ‘bout discipline and putting the children right.” The lack of discipline in the home is evident at school where discipline is constantly enforced. She then gives advice to parents on how to raise a well-behaved child. She tells them “to make sure [their children] respect [them] and hear.” Parents should not worry about buying their children “brand name gear” and tell

their children that they “love and cherish them.” She also believes that spoiling the child would “lead them to ruin.”

She ends her calypso with the chorus asking her songwriter to put her last sentiments in her song. This reinforces the backup singers’ response of “put that in my song” to her call of Bajan social ills and their solutions. “My Song” describes the various amounts of agency given to Bajan youth and children in Bajan society. Nubian Queen does not completely disagree with the standard life of Bajan children and youth established by Bajan society. She believes that they should have respect for every one, have an eagerness for school, play sports, read and learn life skills from relatives. On the other hand, she disagrees with how Bajan adult disregard children and youth perspectives on their society and constantly criticize the young people for their misdeeds. To Nubian Queen, the children and youth have eyes, ears, mouths, and minds to know what is going on around them and the ability to change Bajan social ills. Instead of seeing young Bajan people as a curse to Bajan society, adults should allow them to gain the ability to change Bajan society through opportunities for self-expression and training in morals and life skills.

Dynamo’s calypso, “Don’ Count Me Out,” begins with a video introducing the racers of the Common Entrance Classic, an imaginary horse race. Almost all of the racers are named after core subjects in primary and secondary school, such as math and english. The name of the race is named after the Common Entrance Exam, an exam primary students take to determine the secondary schools they can attend. The core subjects are the test areas. The Common Entrance Exam is considered highly important as the primary indication of a student’s future success. The longshot of the race is Dynamo and his

horse, “Don’ Count Me Out.” He acknowledges that the other horses are stronger and faster than his, but all he can do is try his best. If this is applied to Bajan students, a test and good grades within the core subjects cannot dictate their success in life.

Dynamo begins the calypso with a reference to a well-known calypso within the Caribbean sung by the famous calypsonian, Mighty Sparrow. “Education” by Mighty Sparrow made “ we (referring to Bajan children and youth) parents and teacher focus on academics only.” During the 1970s and 1980s, Bajan society reached a literacy level of 95% due to the value placed upon education in the society. The government provided more access to secondary school education, were selective when hiring teachers, and increased government spending on education. With this academic centered mentality, “children who didn’t do well at school” were labeled “douncey and fool” by Bajan society. Despite that mentality, Dynamo understands that “God gave [him] many gifts with lots of talent and bliss and believes he will be a success.

The chorus urges Bajan adults to allow keeps to do a variety of activities and have interests outside of math, english, and science. The first iteration of the chorus he focuses on sports, specifically cricket and soccer. He tells the audience “ya better don’t count me out cause I’m not academic.” The audience does not know if he will be a better soccer player than Lionel Messor be greater than Sir Gary Sobers, one of the greatest cricketers to come out of Barbados. He could become a local hero like these athletes did by promoting his nation due to international acclaim. The second iteration focuses on trade careers, which are looked down upon because the careers do not require a college degree. Dynamo wants the adults to let him do “mechanics [and] even electronics.” Learning these trades would allow him to be an “electrician, a technician fixing things just for

you.” Dynamo shows that trades are crucial for people to learn and practice because it helps maintain Bajans way and standard of living. The final chorus iteration focuses on the arts, primarily calypso. His passion is music and wants Bajan society to appreciate and foster his dedication and talent in the field. With their support he can be better than the most famous Bajan calypsonians, Red Plastic Bag (RPB) and Mighty Gabby, and eventually become musical and cultural ambassadors for Barbados. While each chorus reiteration is different Dynamo wants to send the message that there are different types of intelligence and there are multiple paths to be a successful and productive member of Bajan society.

The second verse elaborates on the sentiment described in the chorus. He begins the verse criticizing parent for the “mistake of comparing children...instead of trying to chart [the] course that’s best suited for them.” Bajan society is putting pressure on children and youth to achieve near perfection in academics. The government has tends to only award students that do well on the national tests. If a student gets top marks in the national standardized tests like the Common Entrance Exam, the student and the school he or she attends will be recognized in Bajan news outlets. The media recognition enhances the mentality of only awarding the academically gifted among Bajans and inadvertently encourages Bajan society to put all of its hopes on these students. Struggling students, on the other hand, are criticized and ridiculed. Many students can not be the head of their class and may not have straight A’s throughout their entire academic career. Some students may even fail classes. Dynamo urges the audience not to “treat me like an idiot if [he] don’t pass physics.” He does not want to be disregarded by others for failing a science subject because “they [are] other subjects.”

The final verse elaborates on his and other students' struggles in school. His academic struggles are not caused by a lack of effort. He sings, "don't care how hard I may study, some thing just do not stick." For Dynamo, he just does not understand math concepts like square roots and unitary method. However, Dynamo notes his inclination to music. Others underestimate his future success because of his academic progress, but he believes that he can make his dreams come true. He is adamant that he is also brilliant and he will be a success. At the end of the performance, Dynamo plays a tenor steel pan along with his calypso accompaniment showing his musical talent and his criteria of brilliance.

"Don't Count Me Out" is a calypso with an encouraging message. If a child believes they can be successful in life, his or her success is possible. Underneath this encouraging message, the calypso is a critique of Bajan society's idolization of academic perfection and standardized test results. Using an educational system similar to the one used in England, Bajan students that academically excel prove that Barbados is successful as a nation. These students are evidence of success based on Afro-modernity and Western standards. In an Afro-modernity perspective, these students make the promise of fulfillment possible for Bajan society. While success with the British educational system shows Barbados's favorable image as one of the best developing country and its eventual competition with developed nations. However, the obsession with good grades and test scores leads to the social neglect of many young Bajans, a characteristic of Bajan society is trying to fix. According to the Bajan government, Bajan children and youth have been neglected despite being in need of the most protection. Academic success and failure have been used to pass down the normative Bajan form of

success down to the next generation maintaining a national image of a hardworking and intelligent Barbados. “Don’t Count Me Out” questions this singular definition of success while still maintaining a positive image of Barbados through Bajan children and youth finding different forms of success that will eventually be beneficial for the nation.

Ravaging Barbados through Sex: HIV/AIDS in Barbados

HIV/AIDS is an important issue for the Barbadian state and society. The disease is seen as the result of reckless sexual behavior. The bacchanal mentality associated with Crop Over and carnival encourages the lascivious behavior that leads to unplanned pregnancies, marital infidelity, and sexual transmitted diseases (STDs). Soca songs encourage heterosexual interactions and relationships with women *wining* on men who need to prove they have enough “iron.” During 2014, there was a health awareness promotion in the Caribbean entitled “RU+ UR-” (are you positive you are negative) encouraging sexual active West Indians to get a voluntary HIV test. The public service announcement included a jingle sung by prominent Caribbean music artists. The three lead vocalists were Biggie Irie, a soca and R&B singer, Tamara Marshall, former member of the popular group, Spice and Company, and Mahlia Cummins, lead vocalist for the band, Necyx. It is important to note that the lead vocalists were all Bajan and the public service announcement and jingle were filmed in Bridgetown, Barbados’s capital (www.thecbmp.org). On Barbados’s national channel, CBC, the public service announcement (PSA) for “RU+ UR-” played frequently during commercial breaks.

The PSA was played during the video introduction of Ah-Dee-Lah’s calypso, “De Letter.” Unlike other junior calypsonians in the programme this year, Ah-Dee-Lah also had a short skit before singing the calypso. The skit shows Ah-Dee-Lah at her house with

a relative, presumably her mother or grandmother. The postman came to the house and delivered a letter. The female relative exclaimed that she would not pay the Solid Waste Tax⁹. The skit shows how Bajans find the numerous government notices, primarily PSAs and new taxes and fines to pay, irrelevant. PSAs and commentary about HIV/AIDS has inundated Bajan society.

HIV becomes personified as the writer of the letter addressed to Ah-Dee-Lah in “De Letter.” According to Ah-Dee-Lah, HIV is concerned about the thousands that have died of HIV/AIDS in Barbados through “the words he write.” HIV “was upset.” He was so angry, frustrated, and ashamed of” Barbados. Bajan “are asleep and snoring” to the daily messages about the disease from “those in authority.” They are ignoring the messages and are acted out reckless sexual behaviors, such as having multiple sexual patterns, because of a self-perceived immorality. These immortal people will then “be crying bricks in [the] hospital.”

The calypso’s chorus urges Bajans not to “blame HIV when you leave recklessly.” Bajans should not sleep with ‘Tom, Dick, and Harry’ knowing they are married. “It (HIV) don’t discriminate” and Bajans can “seal their fate” with reckless sexual behavior. For Ah-Dee-Lah and the personified HIV in the calypso, people should practice safe sex if they want to have sex outside accepted sexual relationships in Barbados. Ah-Dee-Lah tells, and later begs, Bajans they should be wise: “If [they] can’t abstain, try and *condomize*.” Her advice in the chorus temporarily brings Bajans’ sexual activities to the public sphere showing the disease’s new presence in the media.

⁹ The Solid Waste Tax is a tax that came into effect in the Summer of 2014. Many Bajans feel like the tax is another ploy by the government to receive public funding for upcoming campaigns.

As she continues to read HIV's letter, she is appalled at her fellow Bajans as society "is heading for a downfall." The list of HIV carriers is growing and HIV is gaining strength. Its strength is shown through it spreading its wings and "fly[ing] straight between many marriages." HIV becomes a disease that has added emotional repercussions as a sign of sexual and/or emotional infidelity within committed relationships. This perpetuates a fear perpetuated in the 1980s by the famous calypsonian, Mighty Sparrow, "that [HIV] endangers romances (Best 1997: 71). HIV preys on the weak. "Without care or caution," HIV ravages the bodies of men and women. Ah-Dee-Lah notes the rising statistics of Bajans with HIV. She accosts Bajans who "still messin' around" and says "their big risks" will put them "six feet under the ground." Her critiques, at this point, make her a person of authority about HIV's physical, cultural, and social destruction of Bajans. She is most likely singing to people her age and older about their reckless behavior and becomes a voice of reason.

Ah-Dee-Lah's letter for HIV also shows the personified disease's cockiness. HIV still has no cure despite years of research by "scientists with plenty degrees." HIV is a "thief in the night [that] snatch[es] you body" and runs like Usain "Bolt through your bloodstream." HIV can infect anyone, despite race, because HIV just "wait[s] outside your door" when careless Bajans continue to practice reckless sexual behavior.

HIV is a social stigma in Bajan society. Contraction of the disease through sexual contact is a sign of sexual practices outside of Bajan society's prescribed functions for sex. Sex outside of the confines of marriage and reproducing with a spouse are frivolous and, ultimately, detrimental to the progression of Barbados as a nation. Like other countries, sexual activity conducted by Bajans in Barbados has national regulations.

Through laws on sexual offenses, Barbados, as a nation, classifies sex between two consenting adults involved in an heterosexual marriage with each other as the national standard of sexual activity. HIV prevention and treatment are part of a Bajan nationalism where the sexualized bodies of Bajans “are offered up...in an internal struggle for legitimation” (Alexander 1994: 6). Barbados’s heteronormative sexual activity is the only one that leads to Barbados’s growth through reproductions and birth within the confines of English respectability. Bajans born into and growing up in stable heteronormative families allows Bajans see they alone can match the social standards of the West and feel they are thriving nation that can have an international impact.

Junior calypsonians’ performance of calypso commenting on HIV/AIDS questions which bodies should comment on the sexual activities of Bajan society. These calypso performances have junior calypsonians, Bajan children and youth, talking about sex, an act that is not “natural” until the age of consent at 16. Despite the age of consent, sex is still seen as an adult activity. As stated earlier, sexual promiscuity, especially among the youth, is a sign of America’s cultural influence on Bajan society. Sex is also an act that is more frequently desired by males than females. Many soca songs encourage heterosexual relationships and allude to sexual acts. The relationships depicted show a man ultimately winning a woman over with his masculinity, which is usually connected to his sexual prowess in the genre. Ah-Dee-Lah, as a female Bajan teenager, challenges the notion of who can be a voice for HIV/AIDS education and commentary to Bajan society. In “De Letter,” Ah-Dee-Lah becomes a wise person aware of the realities of the society around her. She knows that sexual abstinence until marriage among single Bajans and marital fidelity are currently unlikely in Bajan society. Her suggestion to use a

condom provides a type of solution to the growing number of Bajans with the disease. Thus, she becomes an example of a person that “was won over” by the HIV education campaigns launched on the island and greater Caribbean region (Best 1999: 79).

Beautiful Barbados: Maintenance and Change

Many calypsos provide commentaries on general Bajan culture and society without focusing on a specific population on the island. “Come Together” and “My Tribute!” are calypso that talk about a beautiful image of Barbados. “Come Together” urges Bajans to unite and make Barbados beautiful again. The function of the calypso, “My Tribute!,” is evident in its title. It is a tribute to the Crop Over festival that celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 2014.

“Come Together” like many calypsos discussing the state of Bajan society and culture, resembles a ballad in a popular music sense with its slow metronome marking. In this self-penned calypso, JSlo stated that ““Come Together” is the binoculars of a teenage Barbadian looking around the country...to give his detailed perspective of what [his] country is like.” Seeing the events occurring in his nation urges him to plead with his fellow Bajans to “come together” (Personal Interview with JSlo , 2014). The video introduction begins with news reports and newspaper articles reporting on crimes and acts of violence in Barbados. Like many calypso in the JCMP and the Pic-o-de-Crop, JSlo is the voice of the calypso lyrics. Besides writing the lyrics himself, JSlo uses the pronoun, ‘I’ to place himself within the situations described in the calypso. He “face[s] the terror of each day when [he] see[s] that the children [are] falling along the way.” JSlo cries “in pain when [he] see[s] de face of man sitting on the street” that no one knows. The Barbados and the world that is lives in is cruel and cold where people have to defend

themselves. The people also have no respect for each other as “people look and spit in [each other’s] face[s].”

The calypso’s chorus encourages Bajans to “come together as a nation.” Bajans should “hold up hands” in solidarity and “show [their] brother the way” when they are off the moral course. According to JSlo, Bajan society is shameful and he “can’t bear to go another day in this shame.” If Bajan society does not collectively stay humble and collectively acknowledge the current social issues, Bajans “would fall and will stumble down the wrong pathway eventually leading to the destruction of the society and nation.

He then comments on the greed of people who are “concerned ‘about that big, fat check. The greed has led people to grossly neglect the disabled, the demographic that needs help the most. “De young men on the block” should pick themselves up and find “good, hard work.” “Young girls ain’t got no respect” with their rude behavior and reckless sexual activity. Bajans are forgetting their integrity. Bajan society’s current state leaves JSlo hurting and burning inside because there is little change despite the media coverage of the society’s decay. He goes on to tell a brief story about a mother. Supposed drug dealers “murdered her son for the weed that they gave the sixteen year old school boy.” Then he mentions how an elderly woman was robbed of her pension check and states that these criminals “got to repent.”

He wonders how Bajan society lose their way. JSlo believes that the father of post-colonial Barbados, Errol Barrow “must be rocking inside of he (his) grave” because the nation he and a generation fought for “Come Together” allows JSlo to portray himself as a very patriotic Bajan who wants to fix the society he lives in. JSlo talks to audience and says his calypso is “message to each and every one of you Barbadians.”

There are numerous tragedies that have occurred and are occurring on the island. It is time for Bajans to get up and become the agent of the change. Barbados will be able to regain its beautiful image once Bajan unite to become the nation of Barbados again.

“My Tribute!” is a timely calypso that matched the special occasion of the 2014 Crop Over season. As stated earlier, the NCF wanted the 2014 season to focus on the festival’s history, which would lead Bajans to participate in and analyze Bajan cultural promotion. The video introduction shows a video of the Crop Over festival during the 1970s, showing the latest version of Crop Over’s beginnings. When the music starts the junior calypsonian, Sammy G. comes on stage with a Mother Sally costume in a cart used to carry harvested sugar cane and greeting her by also wishing them a happy Crop Over season.

She begins the calypso with the lines: “1974 was the rebirth of a child. We call it Crop Over festival.” Her opening lines place her calypso as one that looks back on the history of the most recent form of the festival. In “My Tribute!,” Crop Over festival is personified. It makes the festival a living and dynamic entity in Bajan culture that belongs to Bajans. Sammy G continues with the origins of the festival as an event that took place at “de end of crop and harvest time.” Crop Over is the “blood, sweat and tears of our [Bajan] ancestors.” Crop Over is once again placed in the sense of time established by white planters during Barbados’s colonial period. More importantly, the festival’s presence in Bajan history confirms Bajans’ rightful possession of Crop Over. Sammy G asserts that while she was not born during the time of Crop Over’s origins, the festival’s culture and sentiment still lives on. Crop Over has gone from “drums and slavery to freedom of revelry.” Addressing a Bajan audience, she says Crop Over is “the way we

[the Bajans] express ourselves from all de work and stress” identifying a cathartic function to the festival. Every Bajan, “african [or] caucasian,” pays tribute to Crop Over.

In the chorus, Sammy G places Crop Over in the setting of Barbados by mentioning the locations of major Crop Over events, such as the garrison and Kensington Oval (referred to in that calypso as the stadium). Crop Over also becomes a space where Bajans can express their “one love as nation.” This is a description of the Crop Over of the past. Currently, Crop Over can be described as “sweet music playin’,...people paradin’ [, and] the burning of Harding.” The chorus continues with Sammy G singing the phrase, “Forty years” three times before the tagline, “This is Crop Over” is sung again. It is interesting to note that the phrase, “This was Crop Over is only used during the first time the chorus is. The use of ‘was’ during the first chorus and the subsequent use of ‘is’ in the other choruses shows the connection between the historical Crop Over and modern Crop Over.

The comparisons between past forms of Crop Over and the most recent form of Crop Over continue with her list of Crop Over events no longer held and possibly forgotten or not even known by some Bajans. In the past, there was high level of community involvement during the Crop Over season and more events the promoted communal interactions among Bajans. Crop Over “feasts at the plantation, clown prince competitions, tuk band through the air, and [a] decorated cart parade” describes the old Crop Over. Sammy G acknowledges that Bajan “culture has changed to fêtes and foreday parades.” Crop Over activities continue to promote communal interactions, but these activities are also enforcing and promoting capitalism. Many events and fêtes require an admissions fee or ticket. “Free” and paid events would also offer food and beverage for

purchase through numerous business vendors. These events also have corporate sponsors that are promoted throughout the events. Crop Over has become a “brand name” that Sammy G urges Bajans not to be ashamed of. Crop Over is now an event that helps sustain Bajan culture as it is one of the few spaces where elements of Crop Over’s cultural foundation, Bajan folk culture--- tuk band, jumbies, mother sallys, and folk songs---are displayed and readily accessible to Bajans.

Sammy G believes “music is the heart of the festival and pump blood into Crop Over.” The music concerts and competitions are some of the major events of the festival. She highlights the JCMP with the sustained line, “Junior Monarch show.” She also mentions the sweet soca and party monarch competitions at Bushy Park where “soca does flow.” At Cohobblopot, famous music artists and the season’s music competitions winners perform the Sunday before the highlight of the festival Grand Kadooment where there are “colorful costumes on parade.” The music of Cohobblopot and the other music events help Bajans prepare for the bacchanal of Grand Kadooment. She refers back to the music competitions talking about Kensington Oval where “a monarch is crowned...who reigns as champion” referencing Crop Over’s most well-known music competition, Pic-o-de-Crop. The calypso monarch of Pic-o-de-Crop is considered the best calypsonian on the island until the next Crop Over season. It is seen as one of the festival’s cultural highlights. The quality of the competition is seen as a gauge of calypso’s condition on the island and it is the center of numerous discussions in the public sphere during Crop Over. She then sings one of the festival’s most popular tag lines, “This is more than a carnival; it is sweet fuh days,” and invites the audience to celebrate Crop Over’s fortieth anniversary.

Sammy G then list the people who help create each Crop Over. “Music arrangers [and] costume designers [work] long hours to make a great Crop Over.” RPB, Gabby, Blood, Mikey, and Lil’ Rick, famous calypsonians and/or soca artists entertain the Crop Over audiences. “My Tribute!” is a calypso encouraging Bajans to take ownership of the festival and be proud of the dynamic form(s) of Crop Over. Bajan ownership of Crop Over promotes a Bajan nationalism that is founded in Bajan culture. As Barbados’s most profitable cultural industry, Crop Over is a focal point for Bajan to strengthen a sense of solidarity. Bajan solidarity displayed during Crop Over becomes a display of soft power for international expats and tourists. Consequently, positive impressions of Barbados strengthen the island nation’s international presence.

Conclusion

The calypsonian is seen as the voice of the people. It is easier for society to consider an adult calypsonian, especially a veteran calypsonian, to be a voice of Bajan society than a junior calypsonian. For the junior calypsonians in the JCMP, they are typically seen as the voice of the children and youth exclusively. Many of the JCMP topics pertain to the treatment of the youth or nationwide issues that can affect the youth. Commentary during the broadcasted and judged performances of the JCMP, the semi-finals and finals, discuss the calypso topics chosen by the junior calypsonians. Commentators of the broadcasted JCMP events complain about some of the topics being too mature or “above the heads” of Bajan children and youth. The commentators, judges, and calypso songwriters and arrangers ultimately decide the topics that are appropriate for the junior calypsonians.

Each member of Bajan society has a specific role to play that can change based on age and social class. Junior calypsonians, as children and youth, are meant to sing about topics pertinent to young people according to some of the audience. On the other hand, serious calypso topics, such as national representation on international sports teams, African pride and, HIV/AIDS will benefit the junior calypsonians singing about it. Some believe the currency and political and social aspects associated with calypso allow junior calypsonians to learn about Bajan current events and have a critical perspective on Bajan society and culture. This conflict is evident in the calypso performances in the JCMP. When the lyrics are analyzed, it shows that junior calypsonians comment on ‘serious’ social issues such as, nationalism, social behavior, HIV/AIDS, family dynamics, and education, through performance. The calypso performances of junior calypsonians temporarily invert common social assumptions based on age in the island. Their commentaries on serious topics allow the children and youth to be the wise ones and teachers in Bajan societies rather than elders.

Simultaneously, junior calypsonians can only comment to these social issues to a certain extent. An example from the 2014 JCMP is Ah-Dee-Lah’s “De Letter” where she does not explicitly mention homosexuality and criminal sexual behaviors such as, incest and rape, in her calypso. These sexual acts are unacceptable in the Barbadian government’s heteronormative perspectives on sex in Barbados, and are seen as too ‘dark’ for junior calypsonians. “De Letter” is seen as an appropriate calypso for a junior calypsonian, Ah-Dee-Lah’s age. Based on her commentary and solution, the calypso also shows that sexual education provided to Bajan youth through the media is effective. Another example could be seen in JSlo’s calypso. He laments about Barbados’s

deterioration but he does not mention any politicians currently in power. Critique of current politicians is a job for senior calypsonians. Junior calypsonians would be considered rude if they target politicians in their calypsos. As noted earlier, Nubian Queen blatantly states that she will be muzzled if she sang calypso on her desired topics. Commentators make JCMP calypso topics an issue of ethos. Despite some awareness and opinion on “adult” topics, such as politics and sexuality, youth cannot discuss these subjects in public and many private spaces outside of school due to preconceived notions of societal discourse participation based on age. Junior calypsonians’ appeal of ethos can fail as a result. Commentators appear to want more humor in the JCMP calypso to display calypso lyrics of the past, the innocence of childhood, and the discovery of adolescence that will ignite nostalgia among older members of the audience.

Junior calypsonians’ role in Crop Over is one filled with dichotomies. During Crop Over, these youth participants, especially the finalists and winners, are temporarily elevated above their peers. They become representatives of Bajan youth and allow their voice(s) to be heard. Their elevation creates a divide that should not exist in Bakhtin’s realm of the carnivalesque. Outside of Crop Over, junior calypsonians are students and someone’s children obeying the rules of their schools and households. Adult members of the audience, mainly the junior calypsonians’ family members, journalists, and commentators remember the junior calypsonians, personas outside of Crop Over when they are on stage contradicting and confirming the junior calypsonians masquerade performances. Their calypsonian and day-to-day personas become intertwined on stage. This is all done in the safe space of the JCMP stage. The stage is a space where social decorum, designated appropriate by the Bajan government and society, is practiced while

Bajan children and youth criticize the society their elders created. Junior calypsonians cannot destroy their elders' nostalgia by singing about topics that are too mature for them. They are still seen as children or adolescents that still need to experience other stages of life. Junior calypsonians are required stay away from any topic that involves politics because politics is a realm designated for adults. On the one hand, this diminishes their effectiveness as voices of the people. On the other hand, junior calypsonians hold a number of advantages over adult calypsonians, Junior calypsonians express their opinions on society through story, a technique that is lost and desired in the Pic-o-de-Crop by many (Personal Interview with Ronald Davis, 2014). There is simplicity present in JCMP calypsos that everyone can understand. I believe their simplicity allows them to be a voice for all rather than just adults, the demographic that is typically referred to in the saying, "The voice of the people." JCMP is a space where they learn how to be effective voices of the people. Junior calypsonians believe they have the freedom to express their opinions while fulfilling desires of performing on the calypso stage and makes elders feel safe when hearing the youth's messages. JCMP performances balance masquerade and respectability. This is why junior calypsonians are the hope of the Bajan calypso and Bajan culture's future.

Chapter Four: From the Mouths of Babes: The Creation of a Bajan Calypso Sound

Traces of the Past

The nickname of "Little England" is a double-edged sword. "Little England" strengthens Barbados' association with social and economic development. Accompanied by Barbados's occasional nickname, "Gem of the Caribbean," Barbados shows that it has triumphed after its emancipation of slavery and British colonialism to create a developed nation. These names show that Bajans, which mostly comprises of descendants of slaves, can be recognized by international audiences, like the UN, and organizations for Caribbean and commonwealth nations, as successful. On the other hand, "Little England" is used to partially explain the lack of "vibrant indigenous culture" seen in Jamaica, Trinidad, and other islands (Best 110). Best believes that there has been a feeling of apprehension during time of high cultural development due to a collective psychological trauma suffered during the colonial period (Ibid.). On the other hand, sounds from the past allow the nation to create aural traditions that found a Bajan sound that inspires Bajan musicians to perform and gain local and international fame. In this chapter you will see that there are numerous musical features that connect the JCMP calypsos and make these calypso "authentic" in the eyes of Bajans. These can be traced back to Bajan folk music.

Syncopation is prevalent in the vocal and instrumental parts. Syncopation galvanizes junior calypsonians and other vocalist to understand the groove of the song. In the case of the JCMP, the songs' rhythms are internalized by learning how the vocal rhythm coalesces with the festival band. Background vocalists are modern versions of chorus who sing the answer in the antiphonal form. The form traces to Africa and is a

display of the music as a communal activity. Despite being a presentational form of music, calypso is meant to encourage collective nationalism and community engagement. The lyrics sung by the background vocalists are hooks that the audience can sing in less formal situations. The melody includes a number of figures that prevent the melodies from becoming stagnant. Many JCMP calypsos contain phrases that begin with repeated notes. A variation of single repeated notes is an alternating pattern with two notes. This pattern is also used for an extended period of time during the phrases' beginnings. In Bajan folk music, this frequently occurs in banter song, songs where the singer is singing about another person or is recounting a particular event. In calypsos, this allows the calypsonian to sound like he or she is speaking with the audience and establishing or exhibiting a friendly and personal relationship with the audience. Repeated notes are also utilized to aurally accelerate phrases especially when used in the middle of the phrase. This is heard during phrases that recount events or contains lists of actions or thought.

Frequently in JCMP calypsos, melodies outline chords. The arpeggiation usually starts on the fifth. The use of the arpeggio seen in the figure is common. The appoggiaturas and escape tones' melodic contours with leaps followed by steps in the opposite direction and vice versa are used to connect different melodic figures. It also provides variety to phrases contain ascending and descending to and from peaks or lows. These figures along with some arpeggiated figures occasionally fill in aural holes when leaps are used. The ballad form heard in folk songs and calypso is heard on a micro level within phrases. Melodies of phrase groups can reappear giving verses and the works cohesiveness. It strengthens the calypso's simplicity, which makes the work memorable. Calypsos that include words or small phrases repeated in succession change the intervals

between words or syllables to represent inflections in spoken speech and melodically progress the phrase. Words that rhyme or are lyrically connected will use the same melody. It is an aural representation of this connection and reflects possible speech patterns, especially ones used in heightened speech performances.

This chapter examines the codification of calypso as a musical genre through an analysis of the JCMP calypsos' melodies. But before my analysis, I will briefly describe select aspects of calypso beyond the melody. There is a wealth of information that can be found when studying all parts of the musical accompaniment and hopefully, there will be more works focused on all of the musical concepts of calypso. However, there are numerous reasons for the focus on the calypso melody in this work.

Beyond the calypsos' lyrical content, the melodies are the next aspect of calypso composition where junior calypsonians have a noticeable influence. JCMP calypso, like adult calypsos found in Pic-o-de-Crop, are composed with melodies that highlight the particular calypsonian's strengths and vocal proficiency. This customization is especially needed in the JCMP since the junior calypsonians have not reached vocal maturity yet. The musical motifs in the melodies unify calypso as a musical genre in this program and provide a musical standard that is taught to the junior calypsonians. Through performance, junior calypsonians learn how these motifs connect or overlap with each other to create the melodies heard in the JCMP and the motifs' connection with the calypso lyrics. These motifs also allow calypso to become a communal experience with the calypso's simplicity encouraging audiences to connect with the junior calypsonians by singing along with the calypsonians' and their calypsos, as well as remember the junior calypsonians' message.

What is Bajan Calypso?

Throughout the JCMP's history, audiences and commentators state that they believe the JCMP junior calypsonians perform authentic Bajan calypso. Based on further commentary on the Pic-o-de-Crop competition, this claim of authenticity is primarily based on the musical aspects of the JCMP performances. Modern calypso arose from its acoustic roots through numerous genres performed and consumed in the Caribbean and the United States. It is a product of numerous musical influences. Some believe that calypsonians and calypso arrangers experiment with blatant integration of other genres (Personal Interview with Ian Webster, 2014). The JCMP as a developmental program rarely has its participants experiment with musical integrations other than the genres previously mentioned.

The Calypso Band and its Orchestration

The JCMP utilizes a live band during the judged stages of the program. The orchestration of the JCMP reflects big band style music from the early to mid-nineteenth century United States and popular music from the fifties, sixties, and beyond in the United States and England. The festival band has three sections: the brass section, the rhythm section, and the background vocalists. The brass section consists of saxophones and trombones. In Barbados, the brass section in the calypso band is crucial. For some, if there is no brass it is not calypso. However, it is the most overpowering section in calypso. The beginnings of verses have little brass. The section usually plays at the end of phrases or between phrases. The section gains more presence as the verse progresses and goes into the vocal chorus. The rhythm section includes the drum set, keyboard, guitar, and bass guitar and, displays the evolution of calypso. In calypso today, the guitar and

keyboard/synthesizer both have prominent parts. In the JCMP calypsos, the drums, guitar and bass typically play throughout the calypso. These instruments provide the groove that unites and progresses the calypso. The guitar has one of calypso's characteristic ostinati(see figure below). This maintains guitar's original importance in the genre. The keyboard/synthesizer can hold different roles within a calypso. Keyboardists in the festival band need to have a good sense of rhythm due to the calypsos' complex rhythms to fulfill these changing roles. Keyboard, or piano, is required in Bajan calypso unlike other islands that perform calypso in the Lesser Antilles. In the Pic-o-de-Crop competition, the background vocalists are male and female. The simplest explanation for the use of only female background vocalists is to match the higher pitched voices that belong to the majority of the junior calypsonians.

Figure 4.1 Guitar Ostinato

During Bajan calypsos, simultaneous playing between the entire calypso band and calypsonians is rare. This is possibly to prevent the junior calypsonians from being dynamically overpowered throughout the calypso. Drastic changes in musical density encourage the listener to focus on the lyrics rather than the music. In “Come Together,” only the wood block and piano provide the accompaniment for the third verse. The wood block’s rhythmic ostinato creates a groove for this verse. During the bridge, JSlo describe talks about the murder of a fifteen-year old boy and people financially taking advantage of an elderly woman on government support. The main characters of these two stories represent two of the most vulnerable demographics in the island. He then asks the audience “What is happening? How did we lose our way?” As he is engaging the audience through questioning, the brass section plays one accented note between the questions (similar to the other verses). The entrance of the background vocalists serves the same purpose. In the case of “Come Together,” has its first extended appearance during the second verse when they sing “ooh” as JSlo articulates his feelings and thoughts about the happenings of Barbados sung in the first verse. This pattern continues as they in the other verses singing the same harmonies and same vocable. In “My Tribute,” the background vocals enter in the calypso’s A’ sections as she describes prominent details describing past and present Crop Overs. “A Child’s Plea” also follows this pattern. The most memorable background vocalists’ part is the chorus where they sing the calypsos’ main idea, a concept already discussed numerous times in this chapter. In “De Letter,” the chorus is the only section when the background vocalists sing with the junior calypsonian. These instances are displays of code switching, an act of changing the delivery of dialogue or lyrics (Browne 2013, 40). The changes prevent the calypsos from

becoming stagnant. It also strengthens the junior calypsonians' assertiveness while delivering their message to Bajan society (Browne 2013, 38).

Tempo in Calypso

As stated in a previous chapter, typical Bajan calypsos increased in tempo during the 1980s with Mighty Gabby's calypso, "Boots." The JCMP includes calypsos that use *andante moderato* and *allegretto* tempos ranging from 90 bpm to 120 bpm. Slow calypsos are utilized to portray "serious" topics, such as HIV/AIDS, the decline of society, and absentee fathers. Slow tempos also allow junior calypsonians to portray themselves as Bajans prepared to speak seriously to fellow citizens about the realities of Bajan society. This inclusion shows that institutionalization of high tempo calypsos. In the JCMP, fast tempos (tempos over 110bpm) are typically used for calypsos of a positive of light-hearted nature, i.e. "Don' Count Me Out" and "My Tribute." The high tempos allow the junior calypsonians to be energetic messengers showing off their youth. With the elimination of the Junior Soca Monarch from Crop Over due to financial reasons, faster calypsos in the JCMP are eligible for the Best Soca Award. This award allows junior calypsonians to practice this popular genre and become junior soca artists during the program.

JCMP Vocal Quality

The preferred vocal quality is closest to the one commonly practiced in R&B and pop from the West with African diasporic vocal aesthetics. The singing voices of the JCMP participants appear to be an extension of the speaking voice. Calypso is the story and the calypsonian is the storyteller. In the majority of JCMP performances, there is at least one section when the junior calypsonian delivers the lyrics in a speech like manner.

These sections are blatant appeals to the audience. At these points, junior calypsonians are expressing their thoughts on the issue by simply talking to their mostly adult audiences. The participants' vocal timbre is brighter than adult R&B and Pop vocalists. The timbral brightness is caused by the participants' ages, the brightness of some vowel in the Bajan dialect, and a preference for vocal timbres frequently used by African slaves in Barbados. The voice is another example of the physical body's importance in Black musicking (Olwage 2004, 206).

It can be seen as a combination of the western vocal standard of bel-canto and African vocal aesthetics. Vocal music in Barbados strives to use Western vocal techniques to show the versatility and musicality of Bajans and increase the appeal of Bajan music internationally. Despite the use of Western vocal technique, the JCMP participants' sound black. According to Olwage, the black voice is not necessarily a sign of black resistance against colonialism. The current concept of the black voice is the hybridized product of the "intentional act of culturing the voice" to Victorian and bel canto standards and the "existing timbral habitus" of African and/or black singing (Olwage 2004, 210). One of the primary habits heard during the program is the misuse of the chest voice according to bel canto practices. During calypso performances, the chest voices are used to sing notes higher than its designated register. This makes timbre more stringent based on bel canto standards, but it complements current vocal practices heard in American popular music and R&B. It also matches typical Bajan speech habits where people will raise their volume and pitch when they are feeling strong emotions. As stated earlier, these are just brief discussion about various aspects of calypso performance

Creating the Bajan Calypso Sound Through Melody

Calypso's Musical Form

Similar to other vocal genres, calypso is divided into verses and choruses in a strophic binary form. The Bajan calypso typically begins with an instrumental introduction. This introduction is the band chorus. The band chorus serves numerous functions that are integral to the sound and form of Bajan calypso. It is the feature of the festival band including all the instruments excluding vocalists and serves as a transition between the vocal chorus and the following verse. For the audience, the band chorus provides the emotional and aesthetic expectations for the calypso. More importantly, parts of the band chorus create musical hooks including a musical rendition of the calypsos' main idea. After the first vocal chorus, the melodic hook played during the band chorus is associated with the main line of the chorus and creates continuity in the calypso.

In this strophic binary form, verses and choruses can be divided into smaller sections based on lyrical content, melody, and rhyme scheme. These smaller sections are usually groups of two or three phrases. These sections can be identical to each other to strengthen the message in the junior calypsonians' lyrics. Sections can also be drastically different to become musical transition points. Repetition is important in calypso. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are numerous ostinati seen in the musical accompaniment. The calypsonian's melody contains repetitive parts to connect phrases within verses and reflect the genre's characteristic ballad form. Repetition makes the songs easy to remember and understand and, this strengthens the genre's status as the 'people's newspaper.' For this analysis, examples originate in the first verse and chorus

of the analyzed JCMP calypsos. However, generalizations on how each motif is used throughout each JCMP calypso are made to show how the motifs and musical forms complement each other.

My Song

"My Song," performed by Nubian Queen is a calypso discussing the value of the youth's perspective in improving Bajan society while also discussing the creative process of calypso. Nubian Queen tries to connect with the audience by sharing her experience of choosing themes for her calypsos. Nubian Queen begins each verse with a series of repeated notes making the melodic contour flat (see figure below and refer to measures 2-3 of "My Song").



Figure 4.2 JCMP Calypso Motif 1

This motif, which will be called JCMP calypso motif 1 or motif 1, for short, provides a drastic change to the melodic contour heard in the rest of the verse. In "My Song," motif 1 makes Nubian Queen's vocal delivery sounds similar to typical spoken conversation with the absence of vocal leaps. This musically tells the audience that Nubian Queen will begin each verse with anecdotes that she experiences as a Bajan youth and junior calypsonian. The beginning of each verse sounds like she is starting a conversation with her audience describing her calypso creation process and the stereotypes she hears about youth in Bajan society.

Calypso motif 2 (motif 2) is a figure containing four or more notes with alternating notes between two pitches. I consider this a variation of motif 1 that occurs so frequently

that it needs to be classified as a motif (see figure below and refer to measures 17 and 19 of “My Song”). Motif 2 is an exaggerated version of the speech reflection.



Figure 4.3 JCMP Calypso Motif

In "My Song," this motif is used during the ends of the phrases in verse A. The motif's use in verse connects the phrases in this section and show that those phrases have similar literary functions. The motif is also used in the chorus. Instead of being used at the end of phrases, the motif is used at the beginning of phrase in the chorus.



Figure 4.4 JCMP Calypso Motif 3

In "My Song," the verse transitions to the chorus through phrases containing three notes moving in stepwise motion (see figure above and refer to measures 12 and 14 of “My Song”). JCMP calypso motif 3, also known as motif 3, is a figure of three or more notes that ascend or descend in a stepwise manner and usually occurs during points of transition. Motif 3 is also used in "My Song" during verse A to reach melodic peaks in phrases that strictly contain notes that are meant to be sung in a female singer’s chest voice or notes that are meant to be sung with a mixture of head and chest voice. This motif provides a smooth approach to these phrases' melodic peaks. Motif 3 gives Nubian Queen the best chance to have a balanced sound, a desired mixture of head and chest voices, when the high notes are sung.

Melodic peaks in "My Song" are also approached by figures that contain different intervals that go in opposing directions (see figure below and refer to measures 20 and 24 of "My Song"). In "My Song," calypso motif 4 (motif 4) is an alternative for motif 3 and adds variety to the calypso's melody. Like motif 3, motif 4 has another purpose. The chorus of "My Song" contains phrases where the lowest notes are sung at the end of phrases like in verse A. The jumps in motif 4 that approach melodic peaks and low points provide Nubian Queen with opportunities to show her vocal range and technique.

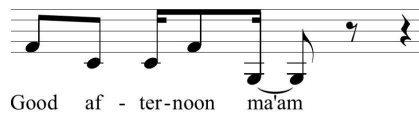


Figure 4.5 JCMP Calypso Motif 4

In "My Song," there are a few occurrences when the melody contains arpeggiation of the tonic chord (see figure below and refer to measures 2 and 3 of "My Song"). Calypso motif 5 (motif 5) are figures that contain arpeggiated chords. Motif 5 in "My Song" happens at the beginning of the calypso. When examined with motif 3 at the beginning of the chorus, motif 5 confirms that motif 3 is establishing the calypso's key of F Major immediately in the chorus (see figure below and refer to measure 27 of "My Song").



Figure 4.6 JCMP Calypso Motif 5



Figure 4.7 Motif 3 in the Chorus

In Western classical and popular music, staying in the same key is something that is obvious to many of these genres' audience and goes without question. I believe this obvious and, often seen as, trivial detail is important to the lyrical content and the intended purpose of social commentary in calypso. In calypso music, there is a musical change in the vocal melody and the instrumental accompaniment that distinguishes the verses and choruses. This is done because the majority of chorus lyrics change to match the lyrics in the preceding verse. Lyrically, the only way to distinguish the verse and the chorus is the presence of the calypso's taglines, phrases, which imply the calypso's primary message or thesis and are heard in each chorus iteration, and a musical change is necessary to maintain the audience's interest and attention. If there was a key change anywhere outside of a calypso's final chorus, the song will sound disjointed. It would also weaken the calypsonian's message and argument because lyrics in that section would become the most memorable. The maintenance of the tonality reinforces the relevance of Nubian Queen's lyrics to her primary message to her audience stating that Bajan youth have the power to change Bajan society, but they require support from elders. Motif 5 establishes the tonality of "My Song" and the other JCMP songs and creates a musical foundation that connects the lyrics of the verse and the message implied in the chorus. The motifs utilized in "My Song" utilizes motifs to reflect the reflexive nature of the lyrics' content on calypso creation and allows Nubian Queen to talk about the youth's influence on Bajan society.

My Tribute!

“My Tribute!,” performed by Sammy G, is a timely calypso that celebrates Crop Over’s fortieth anniversary. Motif 5 is important in "My Tribute." In the chorus, the lyrics, "Forty years" are repeated three times in succession and each iteration utilizes a different chord arpeggio. The arpeggios create the chord progression, I64, V, and VI. The audience knows that there are more lyrics to follow in the because “Forty years” ends with a deceptive cadence. The tag line of "My Tribute!," "This is Crop Over," follows motif 5 in the calypso and returns to the tonal center by ending with an authentic cadence.

Bajan unity is an understood theme of "My Tribute!" Crop Over is a Bajan festival; it is a time for Bajan to come together and celebrate the positive aspects of Bajan culture. Motif 3 is used on the words "African" and "Caucasian" to musically represent equality (see measure 16 of “My Tribute”). As you can see, the figures of motif 3 are the same and it musically reinforces the lyrics "African, Caucasian all 'o we is one." Motif 3 was also used in phrases in verses that end on sustained notes, which are notes that last a beat or longer (see measures 9, 10, 11, and 12 of “My Tribute”). These instances of motif 3 are descending and end on the lowest or second lowest. Following vocal leaps, motif 3 fills in melodic holes. The stepwise motion allows Sammy G to gradually approach sustained notes. The sustained notes land on lyrics that show the importance of Crop Over and the festival’s central themes, such as its origin during the slavery era and the revelry that is crucial to Crop Over’s success.

"My Tribute" begins with motif 1. Like "My Song," "My Tribute!" begins with motif 1 to build a connection with the audience. The beginning of each verse provides a history lesson about Crop Over. Motif 1 allows the audience to concentrate on specific

lyrics in the particular calypso because of the speech-like vocal delivery associated with the motif. Motif 1 occurs again during the chorus. The first three words of the tagline, “This is Crop Over,” are all sung on the tonic and are slightly accented in Sammy G’s rendition. It reminds the audience of the tonal center, F, and musical points to the tagline as the most memorable lyrical line as intended by the calypso songwriter, arranger, and Sammy G.

In “My Tribute!,” motif 2 is used at the end of phrases like in “My Song.” In phrases at the beginning of the verses, motif 2 is a variation of motif 1. This motif prevents the phrases from becoming melodically stagnant and musically represents the changing inflection heard in spoken Bajan. More importantly, motif 2 is used in the “over” of the tag line, “This is Crop Over” (see measures 22 and 25 of “My Tribute”). Motifs 3 and 4 are also used in other iterations of “Crop Over.” The numerous musical treatments of the festival’s in the calypso were most likely used to match the phrases’ approach to cadences and melodic contour and add melodic interest to the many utterances of the calypso’s topic, “Crop Over.” The motifs in “My Tribute!” proves that the calypso is a tribute to the festival and its fortieth anniversary as it represents Crop Over’s changing formats and annual seasons, as well as the festival’s unchanging role in Bajan culture.

We Salute You Dads

“We Salute You Dads,” performed by Sparkle T, is a calypso that pertains to the uncommon JCMP topic of celebrating good fathers. Motif 3 is used to open the verse of “We Salute You Dads” (see measure 1). Each of the verses’ first three phrases begins with stepwise motion. These phrases function as the introductions for her evidence to

argue the importance of positive father figures in children and youth's upbringing. The short ascending scale used at these points allows the melody to gradually ascend out of the lower end of a young female singer's range, which is typically F3 to C4 and allows Sparkle T to display a proficiency of the lower and middle parts of her vocal range. A descending motif 3 is used during the transition from the verse to the chorus (see measure 13 of "We Salute You Dads"). The descending five-tone scale begins on B4, the highest note in the verse. It provides balance between the ascending and descending motions within each phrase.

Following the transitional motif 3 in this calypso, motif 5 is featured at the crux of the verse and chorus. The phrase, "So I will share what daddy means to me" closes the verse and tells the audience that the chorus will begin soon. Unlike the typical arpeggiation featuring a figure containing only the chord tones, the motif 5 in "We Salute You Dads" is an elongated or delayed arpeggiation. The used non-chord tones make melodic line smoother and helps account for the various syllable counts in each phrase or part of a phrase (see measures 14 and 15). The location of this motif at the end of the aforementioned phrase establishes the tonal center as F# with arpeggiation of the tonic and dominant to create an authentic cadence. In "We Salute You Dads," motif 5 musically reinforces the lyrical stability despite the changing lyrics within each chorus.

Within the verses, motif 4 is a vehicle that highlights important lyrics through approaching and departing from the phrases' highest and lowest notes (see measures 3-6 of "We Salute You Dads). The words sung on these highest and lowest notes are typically verbs, adjectives, or pronouns for objects. These highlighted words emphasize the impact parents have on an individual's life. In the chorus, motif 4 opens the phrases within the

chorus that specify what her father did for her family. When examined with motif 4 in the verses and the large vocal leaps heard during Sparkle T's exclamations of "Daddy," The isolated instances vocal leaps and the leaps in motif 4 become associated with happiness and the positive actions parents do for their children.

Motifs 1 and 2 are utilized to emphasize specific lyrics in "We Salute You Dads." Motif 2 is primarily used when Sparkle T acknowledges her father in the calypso's chorus (see measures 33 and 35). In one instance, motif 2 is used in measure 14 to emphasize the lowered supertonic that marks the beginning of Sparkle T's comments and direct tribute to her father. Like the phrases' highest or lowest notes, motif 1 is located in the middle of phrases to bring attention to the verbs and objects the phrases' lyrics (see measures 12, 14, and 15 of "We Salute You Dads"). Collectively, the motifs in "We Salute You Dads" are associated with the good deeds her father performed to keep their family strong. The focus on the father in the family unit confirms that the calypso pays tribute to her father and shows that the calypso shows how there are good, responsible fathers in Bajan society.

A Child's Plea

"A Child's Plea," performed by Mighty KT, is a calypso that describes Mighty KT's thought process concerning the decision to forgive his father for his absence through the junior calypsonian's life. The motifs in this calypso musically represents Mighty KT's conflict between his unhappy memories of his father and his desire to connect with his father because the motifs reinforce feelings implied in the lyrics and musically signal the transition between sections in the song. Motif 5 is used to open each verse's first three phrases. All of these phrases begin with an arpeggiation of the D major

or tonic chord. The arpeggiation begins with the low fifth of the chord (A3) then leaps up a major sixth to the third of the chord (F#4) before it resolves to tonic (D4). The lead of the sixth followed by the resolution down to tonic has a contour that also classifies this figure as motif 4. This type of arpeggiation happens again when sings the phrase, “But hear what I had to turn and tell he” (refer to measures 14 and 15 of “A Child’s Plea”). Rather than using the tonic chord, the figure is an arpeggiation of a b minor or submediant (vi) chord. This figure is between to figures of motif 2, which in this case alternates between E4 and D4. Motif 4 in this phrase provides a tonal progression with the obvious appearance of the predominant chord. This phrase lyrical and aurally introduces the audience to a section of the verse where Mighty KT is directly addressing his father and allowing the audience to learn about his interactions with his father.

In “A Child’s Plea,” there are numerous uses of motif 4 other than the one previously mentioned. Motif 4 is used to quickly reach the phrases’ climaxes and low points and begin the melody’s descents and ascents from the phrases’ extreme points (refer to “A Child’s Plea” measures 10, 12, and 13). Motif 4 in measures 10 and 12 connects these two phrases. In each verse, this section is where Mighty KT is telling the audience about his conversation with his father or elaboration to the claims or requests his father gives earlier in the verse. Motif 4 in measure 15 has a reverse contour compared to the ones in the previously discussed measures. This change reinforces the contrast that will occur when the verse transitions to a space where Mighty KT presents his father’s negligent behavior to the audience and discuss the discrepancies between his father’s request and claims and his father’s past behavior. Mighty KT believes are present.

Both motifs are frequently used in conjunction with other motifs and are prevalent throughout the calypso being featured in the verse and chorus. During the chorus, Mighty KT is questioning his father's sincerity based on his father's past behavior. Motif 4 and motif 2 alternate at the beginning of chorus phrases. I believe the motifs' similar contour and their location near each other make the motifs appear to be variations of each other. Both motifs allow the melodic contour to change direction quickly. The primary difference between the two is the intervals used. The clearest evidence of this is the musical section discussed in the previous paragraph. In this section, this alternation provides variety while maintaining continuity in a section that lyrically transitions between perspectives.

Motif 1 in "A Child's Plea" is used to emphasize lyrics and allows the audience to know what is lyrically and musically coming up next in the music as well as allow Mighty KT to connect with the audience. Motif 1 is first seen in measure 8. At this point in the song, Mighty KT is expressing strong emotion as he worries or questions his father's new intentions on starting a new relationship. The figure uses sixteenth notes, the smallest division of the beat. Until this point in the song, sixteenth notes were followed by notes an eighth note or longer. The repeated sixteenth notes create an aural illusion where the music sounds like it is speeding up when, in reality, it is maintaining the same tempo. This motif is also used when Mighty KT directly addresses his father during the first iteration of the phrase, "You remember." This phrase is important because it displays continuity between all of the verses on "A Child's Plea."

Motif 3 counteracts the leaps and melodic stasis found on the other motifs. It is usually found in the middle and end of phrases. The stepwise motion allows Mighty KT

to display artistry throughout his range. Motif 3 typically lasts for three or four notes before a leap. The even ascent or descent in pitch reflects Bajan speech inflection and makes the calypso easy to remember and sing along for audience members who Mighty KT is trying to make a connection with. In “A Child’s Plea,” the motifs help engross the audience into Mighty KT’s account of a phone conversation he had with his estranged father.

Come Together

“Come Together,” the calypso performed by JSlo, urges Bajans to unite unless they want the tragic event discussed in the calypso to continue occurring. His status as a young accomplished Rhythm and Blues singer made audience members, including myself, have high expectations on his vocal quality and delivery. For myself, I noticed that I considered his calypso to have less recitative or speech-song like moments within his verses making his phrases sound more legato to my ear. Motif 3 figures of three ascending or descending notes occur during phrases where he lyrically supports his claims made in the previous phrase (see measures 4, 5, 9, and 10 in “Come Together”). Motif 3 supports the claim I previously made about. Motif 3 is also used in conjunction with motif 5 in the phrases discussed in this paragraph (see “Come Together” measures 11 and 13). Motif 3 elongates motif 5 in these instances to create singable phrases that have a balanced mixture of leaps and steps.

Vocal leaps and steps allow JSlo to display his vocal artistry. Motif 4 is an avenue for JSlo to show a refined vocal technique through singing high notes. Many instances begin with a large vocal leap up followed by an interval descending from the phrases’ highest note create an up and down motion (see measures 11, 14, and 18 of “Come

Together”). Motif 4 brings focus to specific words in the lyrics with the high note because it reflects a natural tendency for people to notice words with upward inflections during conversation. There are times when motif 4 creates a down and up motion contrasting the majority of motif 4 figure (see measure 22 of “Come Together”). This version of motif 4 is used to show text painting in the phrase, “Oh we would fall.”

Motif 1 provided a contrast between the chorus and verses because the chorus contained numerous figures of repeated notes occurring successively. The more speech-like vocal delivery in the chorus reflects JSlo’s frustration with the crimes happening in Barbados (see measures 16, 17, 20, and 21 of “Come Together”). During the chorus, JSlo is being direct with his audience. The verses depict Bajan society’s current state while the chorus states his belief that Bajans need to unite and cause positive change in order to prevent the Barbados’s destruction.

Motif 2 is also included in JSlo’s pleas for unity. Motif 2 figures provide variety to the speech-like delivery heard in the chorus by adding inflections heard in Bajan dialect (see measures 14 and 29 of “Come Together”). The alternating notes create an example of text painting where JSlo personifies the nation of Barbados as a person stumbling to depict the nation’s ongoing struggles. In the chorus, motif 2 also provides a smooth transition into more melodic phrases. In the phrase, “I can’t bear to go another day in this shame,” the word “shame” includes a melisma featuring a motif 2 figure (see measure 22 of “Come Together”). This becomes a turning point in the chorus as JSlo begins to state the consequences of not listening to his warning. At the end of the chorus, he tells Bajans “it is time to come together as one.” This phrase contains motif 1, 2, and 3 figures and unintentionally provides text painting for this phrase promoting unity. “Come

Together” utilizes the motifs to display his talent as a singer and galvanize Bajan audiences to reflect on the society’s current condition and collectively change society as a people.

Don' Count Me Out

"Don' Count Me Out," performed by Dynamo, is a calypso where Dynamo challenges Bajans' concepts of intelligence and academic success. Dynamo begins the calypso with a history lesson for the young audience members. This lesson begins with motif 1 (see measures 2, 6, and 7 of “Don’ Count Me Out”). The repeated notes sung at the beginning reflects a speech-like vocal delivery and allows the audience to focus on the lyrics. At this point in the other verses of this calypso, motif 1 is important because the verses' beginnings sets up the problems or issues discussed in the calypso.

Motif 2 is used as frequently with the rhythmic figure (sixteenth note, eighth note, sixteenth note) and the melodic figure accents the syncopated figure (see measure 11 of “Don’ Count Me Out”). Motif 2, in these instances, musically connects phrases within the verses and assigns a function for the phrases in the same place between the verses. This motif is also used to precede leaps down or up to the phrases' extremes.

Like many of the other JCMP calypsos, the phrases' extremes are followed by stepwise motions in the opposite directions. Motif 3 fills in the aural hole that was made with the large vocal leaps in the verses and typically occurs in the middle of the phrase. In the chorus, motif 3 has another function outside of being in conjunction with other motifs. The chorus of "Don' Count Me Out" is a space where Dynamo states the potential he has to be successful. The professionals and careers mentioned in the chorus are outside of the three major career paths (doctor, lawyer, and businessman). Motif 3 makes the

chorus memorable and easy to sing and, consequently, strengthens Dynamo's claim that there are multiple avenues toward success. His multiple paths to success are reinforced by the end of the verse with the phrase, "I know God gave me many gifts," where motif 3 is used twice (see measure 14 of "Don' Count Me Out"). Motif 3's prevalence in the chorus creates a connection between the motif and the numerous career opportunities available to Bajans.

In the chorus, motif 4 is also used in the verses' and chorus' key phrases (see measure 17 of "Don' Count Me Out"). Like motif 3, motif 4 fills in melodic holes left by large vocal jumps. At the end of the phrase, "I know God gave me many gifts," motif 4 is used as to change the typical melodic contour heard in the verses (see measure 14 of "Don' Count Me Out"). This phrase lyrically transitions between the verse and chorus as Dynamo concludes the verse that is filled with the negativity associated with the narrow path to success and respectability as an adult. Motif 4 is used for the lyrics, "So let me," which opens the chorus. The phrases that begin with these lyrics are spaces where Dynamo states his desire to enjoy his favorite extracurricular activities. Thus, motif 4 and 3 become associated with the presence of possibilities discussed in this calypso.

Motif 5 in "Don' Count Me Out" is similar to the motif's appearance in other JCMP calypsos. The arpeggios in motif 5 typically do not begin with the root of the chorus. In this calypso, the arpeggio appears in the verses' first and third phrases and begins with the third of the chord, which is also the phrases' lowest note (see measures 3 and 6 of "Don' Count Me Out"). Unlike other departures from the phrases' highest or lowest notes in the calypso, this instances depart from the phrases' extremes with consecutive vocal jumps in the same directions. The verses' beginning phrases have a

speech-like vocal delivery as Dynamo describes the background information of the issues discussed in the verse. Motif 5 provides contrast in the vocal contour and establishes the calypso's key of F Major. More importantly, motif 5 creates interest toward the opening phrases of the verse and musically connects the lyrics that present Dynamo's argument with the placement of the motif at the end of the phrases. The motifs used in "Don' Count Me Out" allows Dynamo to maintain positivity and optimism when discussing his future while being critical of the typical definition of success adhered to and promoted by Bajan society.

De Letter

"De Letter," performed by AH-DEE-LAH, is a calypso that places the blame of HIV/AIDS's prevalence and damage to Bajan society on the Bajan people and their reckless behavior. Motif 5 is rarely used in "De Letter" like in "My Song." When it is used in the calypso, the tonic chord is arpeggiated in an elongated form. Motif 5 opens phrases where she introduces her correspondence with the disease and the side effects the disease has on Bajan society (see measure 2 of "De Letter"). The focus on the tonic chord in these phrases aurally shows the audience that these phrases' lyrics are the main points of her argument.

In "De Letter," motif 4 is used to reach the verse phrases' highest notes (see measures 7, 22, 23, and 24 of "De Letter"). The peaks emphasize specific lyrics that catch the audience's attention. This motif typically uses an up and down motion and occurs in the middle of phrases to correspond to the typical template of the phrases' melodic contours: approach, climax, and departure or conclusion.

Like the other JCMP calypsos discussed in this work, motif 3 is used after leaps of an interval of a third or larger. In the calypso's opening phrases, figures of motif 3 are ascending (see measures 2, 6, and 14 of “De Letter”). During these instances, figures of motif 3 continue the approach to the phrases' climax. Motif 3, in "De Letter," occur in the phrases' beginnings, like discussed earlier in the paragraph, or the end of phrases. In this calypso, figures of motif 3 are typically descending when they occur at the end of the phrase to continue the descending motion after the many of phrases' climaxes (see measures 4, 5, and 7 of “De Letter”). Motif 2 is used at the end of phrases opening the verses (see measure 2, 6, and 7 of “De Letter”). These figures are at the end of phrases and are followed by an interval larger than the ones found in motif 2. These phrases, where motif 2 occurs in the verses, are the exception to the location of the phrases' climaxes because these phrases' highest notes occur at the end of these phrases. The climaxes are given further attention since they are sustained notes. The leaps followed by these figures of motif 2 are considered to be part of the motif as a variation of the interval previously used. It allows AH-DEE-LAH to display her technique by using a properly balanced voice to sing the various intervals. The alternating notes before the phrases' climaxes create anticipation to sustained notes and bring attention to the lyrics at the end of the phrases.

Motif 1 allows AH-DEE-LAH to use a speech-like vocal delivery to contrast the calypso's typical melodic contour thus, emphasizes words in the lyrics. It is used to emphasize lyrics that describe the personified HIV/AIDS's feelings about his role in Bajan society. During these phrases, the repeated notes are slightly accented and further emphasize the lyrics at these locations of the calypso. Motif 1 creates a musical

connection between the aforementioned and phrases that condemn Bajans' reckless sexual behavior. The similar motifs happening at these various locations show that the lyrics present scenarios of cause and effect. Motif 1 is frequently used in the phrases that provide a transitional space between the verses and chorus (see measures 14-16 of “De Letter”). At these points in the calypso, AH-DEE-LAH warns Bajans about the consequences that accompany contracting HIV/AIDS. The accented repeated notes forces the audience to focus on the lyrics describing the emotional and social effects the disease has on people. “De Letter” is an unconventional calypso about HIV/AIDS because she is speaking on behalf of this dangerous disease. The motifs used in this calypso allow audience to approach this unconventional calypso and contemplate the role Bajans have on the prevalence of the disease in Barbados.

The Sweetness of Calypso

The concept of nationalism and community among Bajans is enforced during Crop Over through sweetness. The word “sweet” is used to describe people and entities that are liked by the person using the word. Sweet, when used in Crop Over, describes music and festivities that are fun and addictive and complements bacchanal during the festival. The use of “sweet” marks the person using it as a person that has Bajan and/or Caribbean blood or an extensive understanding of Bajan and Caribbean cultures. Audiences describe music as “sweet” when the melody and/or rhythm are appealing and encourage the audience members to either dance or sing. JCOMP calypsos become “sweet” because the melodies are simple. The melodies’ repetition creates this simplicity and has the possibility to haunt the audience once the performances are over. Music allows the junior calypsonians to contribute to the bacchanal of Crop Over by

creating a family-friendly form of “sweetness” that is accessible to all Crop Over consumers.

“Sweet” displays Barbados’s victory over its colonial past. “Sweet” has its origins in sugar cane and the slavery era. Once slavery was abolished, sugar cane was still important to the Bajan economy and it had strong connections to the Bajan plantocracy. With the extensive use of “sweet” in conversations, Bajans have moved past the colonial ties to sugar and sweetness. “Sweet” is a concept with a similar evolution to masquerade. “Sweet” is now a term to describe a number of positive aspects of Bajan culture. It describes entities that are intoxicating and encourages others to participate in the enjoyment.

Conclusion: The Nested Identities in Calypso

Currently, calypso music is going through a public process of redefinition of true calypso, otherwise known as kaiso. The purpose of calypso appears to be solidified, but the performance and musical practices have been fluctuating. Scholars like Marshall and Best state that there was a distinct Bajan calypso sound. However, the people disapproved of the sound. In the early twentieth century, calypso from Trinidad and Tobago is considered to have the most authentic sound because of its international success. Rather than asking what is Bajan calypso, the better question is what is calypso in Barbados.

Calypso is an entity that unites several of the Caribbean islands. There are more similarities than differences in calypso performances across the islands. The genre’s status as the people’s newspaper has stayed intact in the Caribbean for decades. All of the

islands that hold calypso competitions also have similar orchestrations and arrangements. The difference that many point to is the use of national dialects. Melodic contours, especially during cadences, can vary between the islands because of differences in speech inflection. Others have commented about differences in musical articulation, but these observations are debated upon. For example, Ronald Davis, NCF Music Officer, states that music in Barbados sounds more legato or connected than in Trinidad and Tobago, the declared birthplace of calypso and soca (Personal Interview with Ronald Davis, 2014). This differs with comments made by the songwriter, Sanctuary, during his interview on the Crop Over themed-television show, Festival Stage. Sanctuary believes that Bajan popular music reflects the sharpness and high energy of wukking up, Barbados's adaptation to the popular Caribbean dance of wining, making Bajan's vocal delivery in popular music genres sound staccato compared to other islands, especially compared to Trinidad and Tobago (Festival Stage, 2014). This shows that many of these differences are subjective and nuanced because the differences seen and heard are based on cultural preferences.

There were international calypso competitions held in the Caribbean strengthening calypso's classification as an international musical genre. But, calypso is primarily considered a genre for displaying patriotism through social commentary. Calypsonians' critiques show that they care about the condition of their fellow countrymen and the land they live in as a nation. This is the consequence of globalization. Music continues to become more mobile and allows calypso composers and calypsonians to become more creative and challenge calypso's aesthetical boundaries. In Barbados, the adult competitions show that a pop sound in calypso is

becoming more prevalent. Simultaneously, the JCMP does very little experimentation in hopes that the junior calypsonians learn about the basics of calypso. Calypso in Barbados is at a metaphorical crossroads between evolution and preservation. Currently, Bajans are not complaining about the loss of a national genre. They are fearful that calypso will fade into the nation's past and be replaced by social commentary in the form of western pop songs, and eventually have social commentaries that are shallow in lyrical content and garner no interest from the audience. The doubts expressed by the Bajan public are positive. They show that calypso is still regarded as a musical art form. Calypso's music characteristics will inevitably change, but will still live as long there is an audience that acknowledges and promotes calypso importance in Bajan culture.

Chapter Five: The Young Voice of Wisdom: The Junior Calypso Monarch Programme and the National Image of Barbados

The JCMP's primary goal is to increase the Bajan children and youth's interest in calypso and foster the talents of the next generation of Bajan calypsonians. As noted earlier, the JCMP is seen as developmental program for the NCF. However, the JCMP rules and entry form classify it as a competition. The JCMP is an extension of the continual gentrification of carnival. The rules enforced by NCF in the JCMP promote Bajan calypso, musical aesthetics and characteristics and social behaviors. The rules also penalize participants that use disrespectful or unprofessional behavior and perform music outside of the calypso genre. The program enforces similar rules to Crop Over's adult calypso and soca competitions. As a learning experience, the JCMP and its rules institutionalize Bajan musical practices and social behaviors to establish a normative Bajan society and culture that is then promoted through the media coverage and calypso performances of the program.

Legitimizing the JCMP as a Cultural and Musical Institution

The NCF organizes all of the competition details thus, having a large influence on Bajan calypso. The NCF selects and trains the judges used in the JCMP. The judges participate in workshops where they perform hypothetical adjudication to come to a judging standard for the competition (Ronald Davis Interview 2014). After the training, the identities of the preliminaries and semi-finals' judges are publicly announced before the preliminaries' performances. The judges for the finals are also announced in the same manner shortly before the finals take place. The qualifications of finals' judges through the judges' biography are featured during the finals between the finalists' performances.

Despite the transparency of the judges' identities, there is still mystery revolving around the adjudication and disciplinary decisions made during the JCMP. The NCF appoints an arbiter "to preside over the administration of the adjudication process of the competition and. rule on appeals and matters in disputes or requiring clarification or settlement during the competition" (NCF Competition Rules and Entry Form 2014, 2). He or she is also the final judge in the vetting process and "as to whether behaviour is indecent, obscene, defamatory or in excess of the boundaries of good taste" (ibid). The transparency of the judges' identities reflects Barbados's past success in creating music professionals and the practice of elders helping the youngest generation of musicians.

The JCMP and other calypso competitions organized by the NCF promote several concepts that are deemed critical in Bajan calypso. First and foremost, the NCF calypso competitions require competitors to have nationalistic ties to the island by having Barbadian citizenship or in the process of achieving this status. The simplest methods to become legal Barbadians, citizenship by marriage and citizenship by descent, require familial ties to the island. For JCMP calypsonians, gaining citizenship through descent is the only way to show legal Bajanness. The JCMP is a source of nationalistic and regional pride for the audience because the performers are viewed as the next generation of Bajan calypsonians and musicians.

The NCF promotes novelty in Bajan calypso. Novelty, the frequent creation of calypso, is a central concept in calypso. According to rule 3(d) and (e) of the 2014 Junior Calypso Monarch Competition, "calypsos entered in the Competition must be original and must not have been entered in any previous NCF-organized competition in Barbados" and violation of that rule will result in the "disqualification of the calypso

from the competition." This rule in the JCMP and the other Crop Over calypso and soca competitions forces senior (adult) and junior calypsonians to perform new calypsos every Crop Over season during competition. New songs every competition season test the creativity, musicianship, and showmanship of the calypsonians and calypso songwriters and arrangers. Calypso creates a history of the nation through the voices of several people decided by the government and the people through competition results and audience reception. The social commentary presented during the calypso competitions are timely and usually discuss recent current events.

Calypso in Barbados also has to be in good taste according to the NCF legal team. All junior calypsonians participating in the JCMP are required to submit their calypso to the NCF to go through a vetting or censoring process before the preliminaries. If a calypso is considered "to be defamatory or beyond the bounds of good taste," the junior calypsonian is "required to submit the amended lyrics for final acceptance within seventy-two hours" of the preliminaries' commencement (NCF, Junior Calypso Monarch Competition Rules and Entry Form 2014). The offending junior calypsonian will not be "allowed to participate in rehearsals for the preliminaries" (ibid). Rule 6(e) states that a junior calypsonian will be banned from any "NCF-produced competitions for a period not in excess of five years" if he or she performs the offensive lyrics or any similar variation (ibid). Even though calypso is meant to be critical of Bajan society, the criticism has to be within the boundaries of Bajan etiquette. Calypsonians can push the boundaries of good taste, but it does risk lawsuits or suspensions from the competition. This is more stringent for junior calypsonians because they are expected to remain respectful toward their elders. Junior calypsonians showing a lack of respect will make people question their

families because the junior calypsonians lack proper discipline. This rule reflects the importance of respectability in displays of Bajanness. The vetting process is strict compared to the process in other islands. Consequences become more severe if the junior calypsonian defies the NCF's censorship.

The NCF chooses the members of the festival band, the only band to perform the calypsos during the JCMP. The festival band consists of some of the best musicians in Barbados. The NCF believes the best have to accompany the next generation of calypsonians display of the value placed on calypso in Barbados. All of the calypsos in the preliminaries and semifinals fit the instrumentation of the festival band: keyboard, rhythm guitar, bass guitar, two trumpets, trombone, two alto saxophones¹⁰, drums, and three backing vocalists. It is a smaller version of the calypso bands seen at Pic-o-de-Crop and some members of the JCMP festival bands also play for Pic-o-de-Crop. Changes in the instrumentation usually come for the performances during the JCMP finals. The JCMP Festival Band's instrumentation reflects a smaller version of the Pic-o-de-Crop Festival Band (NCF Competition Rules and Entry Form 2014, 2). The rules for the Pic-o-de-Crop show that the calypso accompaniments' instrumentation has to match the personnel of the Festival Band. If the adult calypsonian wants to augment the instrumentation, he or she will have to hire the musician(s) to play the extra part(s) (ibid). A similar practice occurs in the JCMP where the junior calypsonians have the option to augment the band at their own costs.

Additions made to the orchestration is one of several methods calypsonians can change calypsos during a specific season. The video presentation, live skit, and/or

¹⁰The majority of arrangements utilize two alto saxophones; however, some calypsos arrangements in the JCMP included one alto saxophone and one baritone saxophone.

changes to the calypso performances for the finals have become a performance practice of the JCMP participants and, are symbols of some of the freedoms the junior calypsonians are allowed to take during the JCMP. These changes are meant to be used to give the audience a clearer understanding of the calypsos' sentiments and the junior calypsonians' personas. These augmentations to calypso performances add to the entertainment value of the JCMP events and the junior calypsonian and show the dedication of the calypsonian as a voice of the people.

On one hand, I believe Calypso performances require displays of freedom to maintain its association with concepts like masquerade, bacchanal, and respectability to promote a form of the mythical Barbados national image. The official website for tourism in Barbados claims the island's citizens are "the official ambassadors on how to live life" (visitbarbados.org). In the website's videos, Bajans are seen as friendly and fun loving. When a tourist meets a Bajan, the tourist believes they made a lifelong friend in a day (Ibid.). On the stage, the junior and adult calypsonians all have stage personas that extend or contradict their daily personas to provide the audience entertainment and the chance to safely criticize Bajan society. The literary devices used in calypso lyrics and the cheerful and/or pleasant accompaniment masks the serious nature of the calypsos' social commentary. This allows calypsonians to project the image of an open and cheerful Bajan.

On the other hand, rehearsals create the image of an industrious Bajan. Rehearsals for the JCMP performances are organized in a similar manner to the Pic-o-de-Crop competition. Rehearsals allow the junior calypsonians to practice their calypsos with the festival band and become acquainted with the large stage and missing rehearsals can be

detrimental to the junior calypsonians' adjudicated performances. Effective and efficient rehearsals are a result of the JCMP enforcing professional behavior off and on the live performance stage. JCMP participants must arrive to the performance venue at least two hours before the event's commencement, and failure to comply will result in a deduction of one point from each judge (NCF, Junior Calypso Monarch Competition Rules and Entry Form 2014). The participant must also follow any special instructions given by the JCMP coordinator or risk disqualification from the programme. The junior calypsonians learn that they have to arrive on time to call times, as well as be flexible to do well in the programme (Ibid.).

Lessons in Professionalism

Rehearsals for JCMP participants are important because it is one of the few times the junior calypsonians get to interact with the festival band and learn how their vocal line fits in with the entire calypso arrangement. It is also an opportunity for the junior calypsonians to receive a CD from the rehearsal to practice with at home. This is extremely important because much of the learning process for the junior calypsonian is done by rote. Even if the junior calypsonian can read music, he or she will need a strong melodic and harmonic memory and understand the intended "rhythmic and melodic feel" to have high scores in musicianship.

During my fieldwork in 2014, I observed that promptness and flexibility were issues concerning the rehearsal for the JCMP finals. The final rehearsal on July 15, 2014 began at 10am and lasted until 3pm. This was the final rehearsal before the finalists perform for the titles of Junior Calypso Monarch. This rehearsal was crucial for many of the junior calypsonians because this was the first time to perform their modified calypsos

with the festival band. Junior calypsonians came sparingly during the rehearsal time. By the end of the rehearsal, many of the junior calypsonians could only sing a chorus and verse of their calypsos with the festival band because of the small amount of time remaining before the end of the rehearsal. The band had limited time that day because many of the members of the band also played for Pic-o-de-Crop and the rehearsal for that competition's semi-finals were at 4pm that evening. Some junior calypsonians were fortunate to have a large amount of time needed to rehearse. These junior calypsonians arrived early during the rehearsal time block and inadvertently monopolized rehearsal time. Overall, much of the rehearsal was used to practice and coordinate the junior calypsonian and band with the modified calypsos. The changes involved added instruments to the accompaniment, codas to the calypso, and musical alterations to one or more portions of the established accompaniment. It led to many criticisms about the rehearsals' organization. The amount of rehearsal time for each finalist was unevenly distributed and the changes to the calypsos for the finals take time for the junior calypsonians and band to learn and become comfortable with. However, this rehearsal mishap was briefly mentioned during the live on-stage and television coverage of the finals. It was discussed in-depth on radio and television shows containing forums for the hosts, and possibly audience members, to discuss their thoughts on various Crop Over events. The junior calypsonians learned that they would still have to perform despite unfavorable conditions. The rehearsal became a lesson and test on professionalism for the junior calypsonians and festival band respectively.

The optional, yet encouraged, junior calypso workshop teaches the children about calypso writing and performance to prepare for the season and future seasons' calypso

competition. Prominent Bajan calypsonians and musicians, as well as the program's sponsors, IGM Stage Lighting and Scotiabank, provide presentations during the workshop. The children and youth participating in the workshop will learn how to research specific societal issues and provide coherent and relevant commentary. Junior calypsonians learn basic vocal techniques such as breath support, diction, and projection. IGM Stage Lighting teaches them the effects of stage lighting on their performances. The workshop also includes practical lesson on banks and finances due to the NCF's financial partnership with Scotiabank. The JCMP is organized to benefit its participants in their musical and everyday lives as it attempts to reinforce Barbados's national image by creating industrious and playful, thus balanced, Bajans.

Part of the Sweetest Festival: Crop Over as the Space of the JCMP

Like Curwen Best, a Bajan scholar, stated, I also believe that Crop Over's calypso competitions were collectively a focal point in solidifying national cultural project since the 1980s (Best 2012, 131). In the 1990s, a group of music and cultural festivals emerged and galvanized the commercialization of all festivals in Barbados. After its latest rebirth in 1974, Crop Over became the highlight of Barbados's festival calendar. This transformed Barbados into a nation that heavily relied upon tourism; however, the Bajan people and government also wanted these festivals to strengthen Bajan culture. The two festivals with the biggest role in nation and culture building are Crop Over and the National Independence Festival of Creative Arts (NIFCA). It is important to note that the government has been pushing to make NIFCA the highlight of Barbados's festival calendar. NIFCA is scheduled around Barbados's Independence Day, November 30th. It

is a festival focused on the creative talents of Bajans. Even though NIFCA is a festival deemed the pinnacle of Bajan cultural display, Crop Over is still the most popular festival in Barbados. Crop Over has a distinct ability of attracting tourists, Bajans, and the Bajan diaspora compared to Barbados's other festivals. As stated numerous times, carnival in the Caribbean region is crucial for tourism. Barbados is competing against the Caribbean region, which relies on festivals, for their tourism industry. Carnivals create the image of a modern edenic paradise where the natives are polite, the culture is vibrant, and the nature is breathtaking. The aspect of sharing common languages of the West makes it more appealing. Crop Over is a commodity within an experience economy like other forms of cultural/festival economies. People choose to participate in Crop Over and other carnivals for the experience and they pay for the events that fit their preferences. Consumers pay for festival events to personalize their experiences and allow themselves to form communities with other consumers and/or participants (Robertson 2015, 6-7). Carnival in the Caribbean is seen as festivals within festivals. Carnival focuses on numerous cultural aspects that can be divided into their own smaller festivals. Barbados wants to perfect this characteristic and set itself apart from the other islands especially Trinidad and Tobago and Brazil (NCF.bb). The only way to achieve this is to increase consumer satisfaction. To acquire the consumer's thoughts, Barbados does hold a town meeting outside of Crop Over season to get the public's opinion on the festival.

Crop Over, the space where the JCMP is located, allows everyone attending the festival to have an active role during his or her experience. Co-creation is a process primarily referring to the value of commodities and gives power to Crop Over consumers (Roberson 2015, 9-10). During Crop Over, the junior calypsonians are seen as cultural

practitioners. They are providing audiences with the opportunity to hear and see what commentators and government workers call authentic Bajan calypso. The JCMP audiences, mostly consisting of Bajans, have a vital role in the value of Bajan calypso. Co-production is the process where participants, and in the case of Crop Over also consumers through commodified experience, create and share their creations. Co-creation appears to be vital for a festival like Crop Over since it is seen as much more than a carnival. Positive experiences during the festival's events encourage tourists to do other activities on the island and people with roots to the island, especially through heritage, to celebrate the Bajan nation and culture. This gives Crop Over monetary and cultural value.

Coupled with the edenic and sentimental image of Barbados and the rest of the Caribbean, Barbados during Crop Over is a summer vacation destination. The prevailing sentiment within Crop Over is bacchanal, the act of abandon. Crop Over's highlight is Grand Kadooment, a parade and street celebration filled with physical masquerade, music, and dance, and the adult calypso competitions, Pic-o-de-Crop, Sweet Soca Monarch, and Party Monarch. Grand Kadooment is a culmination of all the private and public fetes held during the season. It is a bank holiday and encourages people to forget their responsibilities temporarily. Crop Over's image as a time of abandon primarily targeted to tourists overshadows the cultural and national motive behind the festival at times. The music competitions during Crop Over, including the JCMP, work to find a balance bacchanal and cultural display. It allows Bajan calypsonians and Soca artists to define the genre as well as possibly gain international recognition when placing high in the competition(s) and/or participate in exchange programs. Crop Over provides the

nation the opportunity to promote itself as a polite and exotic country that provides tourists a safe environment to escape reality.

JCMP as a Cultural Industry

Referring back to feminism's use of body politics, the JCMP is an example of the Bajan children and youth's role in the creation of a Bajan cultural and national identity through calypso performance. The JCMP functions as evidence for Barbados's pursuit of exposing youth to Bajan culture and encouraging youth to engage with the community. Simultaneously, the questioning of the children and youth's role in Bajan society coincides with tenets of Afro-modernity that post-colonial Barbados ascribes to. The promise of fulfillment is displayed frequently in the 21st century Bajan government. The concept of the politics of fulfillment from Afro-modernity describes the hopes of African diasporic people for their youngest generation(s) to live better lives. Older generations fought for civil rights and for a voice for Afro-Bajans. Elders believe now is the time to experience equality. People with power, for example people with government positions or acclaim among Bajans, should provide members of the youth opportunities to create great futures for them and, consequently, improve the nation. The politics of fulfillment demands the bourgeoisie to fulfill promises made during the enlightenment (Schenck 2001, 108). In Barbados, Afro-Bajans look to Afro-Bajans of higher social classes to take control of the island since they are the majority. Like other Caribbean nations, the Bajan government and general Bajan society struggle between the island's "colonial past and a future as 'something more'" (Bascomb 11). The goal is to create forms of communication and cultural display with "a shipwreck of fragments, echoes, a tribal vocabulary, and

partially remembered customs that are not decayed but strong” (Browne 2013, 2). These struggles reflect Barbados's negotiations between colonial Barbados and "a black nationalist reclamation of African heritage...to become something more than a colony and take control of its own national destiny" (Bascomb 11-12).

Cultural Industries help promote a pleasant and favorable image of Barbados while promoting forms of Bajan nationalism all leading to an increased index of soft power that is believed to strengthen the tourism sector. In turn, Barbados's prosperity creates a productive and generally happy nation. Cultural industries have garnered a lot of attention from the government and are considered the next gift to the Bajan economy. Cultural industries are defined as "those enterprises which provide the general public with commercially viable cultural goods and services that are developed for reproduction and distribution to mass audiences in the following areas: arts and culture,...design,...,[and] media" (Barbados Parliament 2013, 10). Barbados's "Cultural Industries Development Act" passed in 2013 encourages Bajans to become cultural practitioners and/or entrepreneurs. JCMP's staple within Crop Over allows the program function as a cultural industry.

In terms of the JCMP, an international bank and a local lighting company show how the private sector is an invaluable asset for cultural industries. Barbados is encouraging the private sector to invest in cultural industries. The official competition name seen and heard for the JCMP is The Scotiabank Junior Calypso Monarch in Association with IGM Stage Lighting. Scotiabank, also known as Bank of Nova Scotia is a Canada-based bank that has expanded into the Caribbean and Latin American region. It is also the largest financial contributor to the JCMP. The bank's financial support of the

JCMP is part of their Community Program in Barbados, which is “Scotiabank’s philanthropic efforts in [Barbados] and incorporates both corporate giving and employee volunteerism” (Scotiabank.com). The JCMP’s classification as a developmental program allows Scotiabank to “give hope to Barbadian youth by supporting education, arts and culture” and practice what they call corporate social responsibility. The bank defines this term as the act of “supporting and strengthening [one’s] communities” to make them healthy and vibrant (Ibid.). Cultural industries also allow Bajans to create and strengthen their sense of belonging and Barbados’s national image because of the connection between the product and place of creation and association. Cultural practitioners and entrepreneurs create internationally recognized products that are connected to Barbados allowing the island nation to have involved in Crop Over fulfill Barbados’s pledge of allegiance by displaying their Bajanness and helping Barbadian society. Partnerships with the private sector show that Barbadian government views Bajan culture as a crucial piece in the economy’s survival and prosperity.

Placed with other artistic workshops organized by the NCF, the JCMP workshop is a scout and cultivator of Bajan talent. Like other countries, Barbados sees cultural industries as an economic sector with lucrative profits. Musical performances and participating in the music industry are methods used in the Caribbean to contribute to the respective nations’ cultural industries and grow international presence (www.ncf.bb). The JCMP and other artistic workshops allow the NCF to become an organization that strengthens the Barbadian economy through Barbados’s cultural industries. Discussed within the context of Crop Over, the JCMP workshop and the nature of calypso as a form of expression for the subaltern allows the NCF to claim that the JCMP gives the junior

calypsonians skills to become productive culturally and politically conscious members of Bajan society in the present or future. The junior calypsonians' performances allow the arts to be a galvanizer to a utopian society.

Practicing for the Future: The JCMP, Youth Masquerade, and Youth Policy

Children and youth performing masquerade is the primary function for Barbados's recently instated youth policy. The youth policy was implemented over a decade after the Division of Youth Affairs was created in 1995 (www.icicp.org). As part of the Ministry of Education, Youth Affairs, and Sports, the division has the responsibility to fulfill government mandates pertaining to youth development (ibid.) Its goal is to benefit Bajan society by facilitating “the development of confident, proud, self-reliant and creative individuals through involvement in productive activity that contributes to personal, community and national development” (www.youthaffairs.gov.bb). When the Barbados Labour Party was elected into power, they attached a letter apologizing to Bajan youth and Barbados as a nation. The letter and the youth policy provided evidence that the Bajan government finally recognized the youth as a voiceless demographic with the potential to improve the nation in the long run. A number of the youth development programs organized by the Division of Youth Affairs focus on civil service, sports, and entrepreneurship. Programs focusing on the arts fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture, but these programs still fulfill the Youth Policy.

Under the Cultural Industries Development Bill, the junior calypsonians of the JCMP are classified cultural practitioners (Barbados Parliament 2013). This distinction of the junior calypsonians means that Bajan children and youth are integral to Barbados's cultural and, thus, tourism industries. The junior calypsonians have the responsibility to

put on a good performance in order to promote Bajan calypso. The masquerade form seen in the JCMP is based on imitation or make-believe. It differs from masquerade before Bajan independence where imitation was a form of resistance. Junior calypsonians imitate adult calypsonians while simultaneously finding their own styles. As noted in the previous chapters, the JCMP as a competition resembles the adult calypso competitions in Barbados. It is beneficial for the junior calypsonians musical development and musical careers if it is a desired career path. The JCMP allows junior calypsonians to safely explore the world of Bajan calypso.

The junior MC and junior calypsonians provide an example of the children and youth performing masquerade as they fulfill entertainment roles once meant to be for adults. Their mentors provide models for children and youth to emulate. The goal is to have these children and youth to become the role models of the present and future generations. This is the goal of many programs organized by branches of the Barbadian government.

The 2014 JCMP had two Masters of Ceremony, hereafter called MC, throughout the programme, a veteran MC and a junior MC. The veteran MC, Carl “Alff” Padmore, has hosted many public events around the island and is popular among Bajan audiences. The junior MC, a male youth performing under the name Kkyesk began hosting the 2014 JCMP season after completing an MC workshop organized by the NCF as the workshop’s youngest graduate. Kkyesk and Alff worked together before the 2014 JCMP in Barbados Today’s video segments called “Alffing Around to the Max.” During the JCMP semifinal and finals, Kkyesk and Padmore had skits where Padmore would critique and show the junior MC the proper ways to MC a calypso show. Kkyesk’s

appointment to MC of the junior calypso tents and co-MC of the semi-finals and finals and the previous professional relationship between the two MCs corresponds to the JCMP's place within the NCF.

The junior MC and junior calypsonians are provided mentors in the JCMP. In the case of the junior MC, his mentor was his adult counterpart, Carl Padmore, who is an established MC on the island. For the junior calypsonians, their mentors are adults with notable experience within the Bajan calypso or musical realm. The junior calypsonians are mentored by their calypso's arrangers, many of whom are calypsonians or arrangers for adult calypsonians. The people working with the junior calypsonians know the musical, topical, and performance expectations of Bajan calypso. On the other hand, some complain that the JCMP does not develop its junior calypsonians. The workshop is for a short period of time and the many that do not make past the preliminaries get very little experience with calypso competition. The workshop is held over three Saturdays with each session lasting six hours. In Trinidad and Tobago, the Trinbagoan United Calypsonians' Organization (also known as TUCO) holds workshops, monthly calypso concerts, lectures, and school outreach to promote calypso on the island. This list of programs allows junior calypsonians to have greater exposure to calypso. Barbados's JCMP workshops are on a similar scale to junior calypso workshops held on other islands. The scale of the TUCO workshops is a result of the nation's prominence in the calypso genre. It is considered the genre's birthplace and heavily influences the nation's international as a center of Pan-Caribbean culture along with other islands in the Greater Antilles. Scotiabank and IGM Stage Lighting, the JCMP's largest investors, have a large involvement in the workshops. The workshops are advertised to educate junior

calypsonians on more than calypso. There are sessions where the investors' specialties are lauded as being part of a competent and artistic calypsonian and industrious Bajan. The JCMP is considered an opportunity for senior calypsonians to help the genre by teaching the next generation, but the senior calypsonians do not take advantage of the opportunity often. Very few calypsonians, lyricists, and arrangers become involved in the JCMP and that level of involvement varies each season.

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well-known Bajans in the calypso field. This creates connections that will extend into the junior calypsonians career as an adult calypsonian. Some junior calypsonians' accomplishments before and during the JCMP reflect accomplishments made by some adult calypsonians. JSlo entered the JCMP as an accomplished R&B singer. His entrance into the genre is similar to Biggie Irie, a popular R&B and soca singer that recently began performing well in the Pic-o-de-Crop. Another example in the 2014 season is AH-DEE-LAH became a Red Cross youth ambassador due to her strong performance of "De Letter," her calypso on HIV/AIDS and safe sex. The Mighty Gabby, a renowned Bajan calypsonian, is Barbados's cultural ambassador for his contributions to Bajan calypso and folk songs.

The junior MC and junior calypsonians provide an example of the children and youth performing masquerade as they fulfill entertainment roles once meant to be for adults. Their mentors provide models for children and youth to emulate. In the case of the junior MC, his mentor was his adult counterpart, Carl Padmore, who is an established MC on the island. For the junior calypsonians, their mentors are adults with notable experience within the Bajan calypso or general Bajan popular music. The goal is to have these children and youth to become the role models of the present and future generations. This is the goal of many programs organized by branches of the Barbadian government. The classification of Bajan children and youth participating in the JCMP and other programs fulfilling the youth policy as "juniors" exhibits the concept of inheritance in the politics of fulfillment. Bajan elders fought and worked for opportunities that are inherited by the next generation. Juniors are meant to take advantage of these past victories and spoils. For many of the junior calypsonians I have spoken with, they are inspired by the

adult calypsonians participating in the Pic-o-de-Crop. They look to veterans in the JCMP and the Pic-o-de-Crop to learn how to connect with the audience and have a good calypso performance (Personal Interviews with Sparkle T, AD-DEE-LAH, and JSlo, 2014).

Programs that fulfill the youth policy allow Bajan youth to practice productive forms of Bajanness by exploring careers and/or forms of expressions typically performed by adults.

However, some complain that the JCMP does not develop its junior calypsonians. The workshop is for a short period of time and the many that do not make past the preliminaries get very little experience with calypso competition (Personal Interview with Chrystal Cummins-Beckles, 2014). The workshop is held over three Saturdays with each session lasting six hours. Youth masquerade through the JCMP is only for a limited time. In Trinidad and Tobago, the Trinbagoan United Calypsonians' Organization (also known as TUCO) holds workshops, monthly calypso concerts, lectures, and school outreach to promote calypso on the island. This list of programs allows junior calypsonians to have greater exposure to calypso. Barbados's JCMP workshops are on a similar scale to junior calypso workshops held on other islands. The scale of the TUCO workshops is a result of the nation's prominence in the calypso genre. It is considered the genre's birthplace and heavily influences the nation's international as a center of Pan-Caribbean culture along with other islands in the Greater Antilles. Scotiabank and IGM Stage Lighting, the JCMP's largest investors, have a large involvement in the workshops. The workshops are advertised to educate junior calypsonians on more than calypso. There are sessions where the investors' specialties are lauded as being part of a competent and artistic calypsonian and industrious Bajan. The JCMP is considered an opportunity for senior calypsonians to

help the genre by teaching the next generation, but they do not take advantage of the opportunity often. Very few calypsonians, lyricists, and arrangers become involved in the JCMP and that level of involvement varies each season.

Junior calypsonians have important roles within Crop Over as calypso performers. The genre keeps some aspects of Crop Over from become stagnant because the competition prohibits the same calypsos entering multiple competition seasons. Calypso, as a form resembling presentational music, galvanizes the junior calypsonians to practice and refine their calypsos with the intention of having an audience eventually present to listen to the calypsos (Turino 2008, 52). The audience of the JCMP will change form throughout the Crop Over season. The audience will also change form based on the how the performances are presented. The two JCMP tent performances will see a change in audience due to location and audience members' willingness to travel to the designated performance venue. The majority of Bajans have the opportunity to consume the JCMP finals. The finalists' calypsos are played numerous times on the radio stations connected with Barbados's only public broadcast channel, CBC. The finals are aired live on CBC, as well as, the recorded event is aired days after the conclusion of the programme. The national promotion of the JCMP provides multiple opportunities for Bajans to participate in the programme as an audience member. As noted numerous times, calypso and the calypsonian are the words and voices of the people respectively. For this title and function to hold true, the audience provides its own commentary of the calypsos' subject matter and the junior calypsonians' performances. The safest space for this is a place where a junior calypsonian are surrounded by friends and/or family. Providing a space through allows the audience to participate in and become an integral part of the genre

after consumption through commentary of their own on the calypsos' music, performance, and lyrical content.

Live performances allows Bajans to perform different forms of Bajanness. The Master of Ceremonies performs a roll call during the live judged performances to determine which parishes the audience members reside in. Audience members show their pride in their parish, and the roll call is a display of Bajan-ness based on regionalism on a national scale. It counters Crop Over's centrality in St. Michael, the parish that houses Barbados's capital, Bridgetown. The Master of Ceremonies also likes to joke about the live audience members missing work to see the JCMP performances getting in trouble the following day at work as the supervisor watches or listens to the radio and television broadcast (JCMP semifinals and finals, Gary Sobers Gymnasium, Bridgetown, Barbados, July 2014). Being considered "non-industrial" means the person is lazy, irresponsible, and has no regards toward Barbados. Within the perspective of Barbados's motto, "Pride and Industry," and national image, working hard in any occupation and career is important to the concept of Barbados as nation. The joke does appear as a criticism of lazy or unmotivated members of the Bajan workforce willing to miss work for entertainment purposes. On the other hand, these "lazy" audience members should be commended for spending money and taking time out of their everyday lives to support the junior calypsonians and the future of Bajan calypsos. The joke highlights the differences between the live audience and the radio and television audience. The roll call and the joke about the runaway workers highlights the differences among the audience members based on parish residency and method of consumption. However, these differences are insignificant to the audiences because the JCMP is a space where all

Bajans unite to hear Bajan junior calypso. The united audience reflects the solidarity between the JCMP participants. The support given to fellow junior calypsonians and the friendships among themselves exhibit a solidarity similar to the one felt among adult calypsonians within the same tent (Personal Interview with Chrystal Cummins-Beckles, 2014).

The Master of Ceremonies also makes sure to talk to the audience about giving the proper respect and support to the junior calypsonian through providing applause at the conclusion of each performance despite having different levels of loyalty towards the junior calypsonians. The JCMP audience consists Bajans with the audience of the finals containing a large amount of school-age children and the participants' friends and families. When the junior calypsonians are introduced, the schools the junior calypsonians are attending are included in the introductions. The junior calypsonians become representatives of their schools on a national and cultural level. Sections of the audiences roar in support of the school they have or are attending. JCMP winners will receive accolades from the school and popularity with the students when they return to school for their role in improving the school image. A rule that is obvious to Western audiences and Bajans is a comment on the relationship between audience and performer. The junior calypsonians need the audience's support while the audience needs the junior calypsonians to refine their craft and inspire the next generation of calypsonians. During the JCMP, and other calypso competitions, the solidarity among the audiences, among the junior calypsonians, and between the audience and performers is rooted in a Bajan-ness that emphasizes respectability.

I believe forms of resistance during the JCMP's early years were unintentional. It was purely seen as an avenue for Bajan youth to practice and perform calypso before they reach the age to join an adult calypso tent. As more participants go through the program, a new historical narrative is developing, a narrative that is constantly opposing itself with junior calypsonians being the mouthpieces of adults and involved in the calypso genre and fellow youth. The issue of junior calypsonians becoming the mouthpiece of and appealing to adults is controversial because they are meant to be the voice(s) of the youth. They become mediators that iterate youth's social issues to adults. Junior calypsonians and their calypsos are considered ineffective if it can be solely be understood by adults.

This conflict shows that Blackness is not stagnant, as Gilroy and Harewood have noted (Harewood 2005,5; Gilroy 1991). Barbados is a mostly Black nation and it cannot be seen as counter hegemonic in a racial sense. Blacks gained political control of the island when they achieved independence and have kept that power. Bajans have formed created their own methods of performing Blackness and Bajanness. At times, these terms can be synonymous with each other. The recognition of Bajan youth's voice(s) in public discourses has become a central issue for the JCMP not legitimizing their Black identity in hegemonic Bajan culture. Different types of Blackness are expressed across nations and nations.

#calypsoisingoodhands: Cultural Industries and the Role of Social Media, Radio, and Television

The NCF has strict media rules pertaining to Crop Over's music competitions. Only people with a media pass, a form of credentials only available to newspaper and television journalists and photographers. People without a media pass are not allowed to

take pictures or record performances. If a person is caught, the recording device will be confiscated. This rule was most likely instated because there were once pirated recordings of famous calypsonians' current season performances publically sold. The only authorized recordings available to the public are the calypsos' plays on public radio stations, the televised JCMP finals, and YouTube videos. The radio plays and YouTube videos are mostly live performance recordings and separate the calypsos' sounds from its source, the live performance. This chasm between source and sound allowed calypso to have appeal outside of the Caribbean in the twentieth century.

Outside of preventing the sale of pirated recordings, the NCF can also regulate the quality of the media presented to the masses. The photographs and videos of the junior calypsonians posted on the NCF website and major social media sites, Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter, look professional and add to the event's professionalism. The visual images of the junior calypsonians allow these children and youth to be seen as celebrities. Social and television media allow people unable to attend the live performance to consume JCMP performances reinforcing the program's integral place within the NCF.

The use of social media personalizes Barbados's journey in making new cultural ambassadors. Audiences get to know the junior calypsonians beyond the confines of the JCMP. The hashtag, "calypso is in good hand" is a comment frequently by NCF and government officials and calypso commentators about the JCMP. They believe if junior calypsonians continue pursuing calypso into adulthood the genre would stay alive in Bajan culture. Junior calypsonians are identified as the next generation of Bajan calypsonians. The JCMP are part of a growing number of programs for the youth and

fulfills a national youth policy galvanized by the United Nations. Members of Bajan youth can participate in activities of their choosing and become novice contributors to Bajan society. Barbados's youth policy strengthens the JCMP's role in building Bajan nationalism.

The JCMP, as a talent show, is the first step in the typical avenue Bajan musicians gaining international fame. Winning the competition, gives the young participant musical credibility and domestic fame. After gaining a title, performance opportunities increase and a local music career emerges. A local hit will become popular on other islands in the Caribbean and grab the attention of a major international record label. Bajans have new paths to achieve musical stardom internationally. Popular shows like American Idol and The Voice provide an efficient path to fame. The Voice, in particular, became epitome of international vocal competitions after Tessanne Chin's win on The Voice's fifth season. The competition's format complements the grooming of musicians in Barbados. Mentorship is important in Barbados and musicians and artists are encouraged to learn from as many people they can. The Voice allows people who pass the blind auditions to be mentored by a famous American pop artist of their possible choosing. As the competition progresses, the remaining contestants have covers recorded and available for sale on iTunes providing the contestants an opportunity to increase their economical value before leaving the competition. Tessanne Chin was inspiring to aspiring singers on the Caribbean because she was a performing Jamaican singer before auditioning for the show. JSlo's memorable voice was discussed at length during the JCMP finals. Admiral talked about one of JSlo's conversations with the parent of Trinidad and Tobago's Junior Monarch. The parents told JSlo that he could take his talents much farther and perform on

a competition like The Voice (JCMP Finals, 2014). It was a compliment for JSlo. If he were to enter and do well in a similar competition, it would be great for Barbados. A good performance on an international stage means that Barbados's musical standards are high and can be appreciated outside of the island. It also proves that Barbados's national music genres are valuable for international presence in the music genre. It serves as a stepping-stone for the international music industry and is a foundation for a proper music education for Bajans.

The transition from junior calypsonians to adult musicians is meant to be manageable for the JCMP participants. The processes performed during the JCMP will be done if they become professional pop singers.

Coming Together: Bajan Nationalism in the Youth's Perspective

The calypsonian is seen as the voice of the people. It is easier for society to consider an adult calypsonian, especially a veteran calypsonian, to be a voice of Bajan society than a junior calypsonian. For the junior calypsonians in the JCMP, they are typically seen as the voice of the children and youth exclusively. Many of the JCMP topics pertain to the treatment of the youth or nationwide issues that can affect the youth. Commentary during the broadcasted and judged performances of the JCMP, the semi-finals and finals, discuss the calypso topics chosen by the junior calypsonians. Commentators of the broadcasted JCMP events complain about some of the topics being too mature or "above the heads" of Bajan children and youth. The commentators, judges, and calypso songwriters and arrangers ultimately decide the topics that are appropriate for the junior calypsonians.

Each member of Bajan society has a specific role to play, which can change based on age and social class. Junior calypsonians, as children and youth, are meant to sing about topics pertinent to young people according to some of the audience. On the other hand, serious calypso topics, such as national representation on international sports teams, African pride, and HIV/AIDS will benefit the junior calypsonians singing about it. Some believe the currency and political and social aspects associated with calypso allow junior calypsonians to learn about Bajan current events and have a critical perspective on Bajan society and culture. This conflict is evident in the calypso performances in the JCMP. When the lyrics are analyzed, it shows that junior calypsonians comment on ‘serious’ social issues such as, nationalism, social behavior, HIV/AIDS, family dynamics, and education, through performance. The calypso performances of junior calypsonians temporarily invert common social assumptions based on age in the island. Their commentaries on serious topics allow the children and youth to be the wise ones and teachers in Bajan societies rather than elders.

Simultaneously, junior calypsonians can only comment to these social issues to a certain extent. An example from the 2014 JCMP is Ah-Dee-Lah’s “De Letter” where she does not explicitly mention homosexuality and criminal sexual behaviors such as, incest and rape, in her calypso. These sexual acts are unacceptable in the Barbadian government’s heteronormative perspectives on sex in Barbados, and are seen as too ‘dark’ for junior calypsonians. “De Letter” is seen as an appropriate calypso for a junior calypsonian, Ah-Dee-Lah’s age. Based on her commentary and solution, the calypso also shows that sexual education provided to Bajan youth through the media is effective. Another example could be seen in JSlo’s calypso. He laments about Barbados’s

deterioration, but he does not mention any politicians currently in power. Critique of current politicians is a job for adult calypsonians. Junior calypsonians would be considered rude if they target politicians in their calypsos. As noted earlier, Nubian Queen blatantly states that she will be muzzled if she sang calypso on her desired topics. Commentators make JCMP calypso topics an issue of ethos. Despite some awareness and opinion on “adult” topics, such as politics and sexuality, youth cannot discuss these subjects in public and many private spaces outside of school due to preconceived notions of societal discourse participation based on age. Junior calypsonians’ appeal of ethos can fail as a result. Commentators appear to want more humor in the JCMP calypso to display calypso lyrics of the past, the innocence of childhood, and the discovery of adolescence that will ignite nostalgia among older members of the audience.

Junior calypsonians’ role in Crop Over is one filled with dichotomies. During Crop Over, these youth participants, especially the finalists and winners, are temporarily elevated above their peers. They become representatives of Bajan youth and allow their voice(s) to be heard. Their elevation creates a divide that should not exist in Bakhtin’s realm of the carnivalesque. Outside of Crop Over, junior calypsonians are students and someone’s children obeying the rules of their schools and households. Adult members of the audience, mainly the junior calypsonians’ family members, journalists, and commentators remember the junior calypsonians, personas outside of Crop Over when they are on stage contradicting and confirming the junior calypsonians masquerade performances. Their calypsonian and day-to-day personas become intertwined on stage. They are still seen as children or adolescents that still need to experience other stages of life, but they are the hope of the Bajan calypso and Bajan culture’s future.

Conclusion

The JCMP promotes a hardworking, traditional, yet innovative Barbados to local and international audiences through the social commentaries of junior calypsonians. The program consists of a workshop on calypso performances, junior calypso tent performances, semifinals, and finals. The winners receive the title of Junior Calypso Monarch, various prizes, and the opportunity to perform in Trinidad and Tobago during Carnival. The title of Barbados's Junior Calypso Monarch garners respect from Bajan society. It is also a sign of the child's and Barbados's future success. The JCMP allows junior calypso to display Bajanness through masquerade. As discussed in the previous two chapters, masquerade in the JCMP is performed on two levels: One, Calypso's musical aesthetic focused on pleasant and melodious sounds and its association with carnival and bacchanal conceals the serious nature of the social and political criticism within the performance. Two, the junior calypsonians' performances provide social commentary on topics deemed appropriate by the Barbadian government and society, and reveals youth's regulated freedom through performance.

Chapter Six: Reflection and Dialogue: Bajans' Fight for Recognition

Writing this work in Hawai'i made me aware of the fight for recognition. My childhood in New York City was a safe haven and a stage of display for my Caribbean heritage. The neighborhood I grew up in was filled with displays of Caribbean culture. I knew people were aware of the island of Barbados and Bajan people. Moving to Florida, my Caribbean heritage still felt safe and had the possibility to thrive due to the state's proximity to the Caribbean region and the large Caribbean population. By the time I came to Hawai'i, my culture and Barbados, as an island nation, was unknown to many. The majority of my discussions about Barbados had to include a map as a visual aid because people usually only knew of Jamaica, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. I realized I was in a place where the people and cultures of Pacific islands were fighting for their place of recognition and I was here trying to place Caribbean islands in the fight as well.

"Watch me nah" is a saying I have heard numerous times during my life. It is a saying that directs the audience to an entertaining or noteworthy performance. For a child dancing or singing during a family or community event to an island nation trying to gain international influence, "watch me nah" shows a desire for attention and acknowledgement. On a macro level, Barbados wants to decenter international discussions about the Caribbean. People who are unfamiliar with the Caribbean will usually use Haiti, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago as guidelines to understanding the region. As a nation, Barbados does not want to be in the shadows of well-known islands. Barbados wants its name mentioned during discussions pertaining to the Caribbean. Barbados wants to destroy the old center of the Caribbean and become part of the new one.

Since Barbados's independence, the nation strived to become a developed country due to high human development. Barbados has a positive image and is occasionally called the "Gem of the Caribbean" because it accomplished its goal. It became a nation of high human development. It also has the most developed economy in the Lesser Antilles and also ranks high in the entire Caribbean region. Despite Barbados's economic success, Barbados is fighting for cultural recognition among well-known Caribbean islands. Barbados has yet to create a cultural product that has become part of Caribbean culture and attracted large international appeal like the islands mentioned in the previous paragraph. Bajan culture is also fighting against Western culture for consumption and recognition on the island as well as, the need to internationally brand Bajan culture. Based on my research, I conclude that cultural products are a sign of national pride and can improve a nation's economy by tourism to the nation and their cultural exports more appealing. For Barbados, Crop Over is a time where Bajaness is on mass display in the form of cultural products. Many Bajans complain that the festival is losing its Bajaness by incorporating too many regional influences. Bajans' concerns about Crop Over show that Barbados can and will have multiple identities. Barbados as a nation is part of a Caribbean region that wants to show its unity to international audiences.

Bajan's concerns about Crop Over can be stated for Bajan culture outside the Crop Over season and reveals conflicts between Barbados's different identities. The shared history of slavery, colonialism, and, for some Caribbean islands, fights for independence connect the Caribbean region. The frequent migrations and travels between the Caribbean islands among the Caribbean people reinforce this unity. As my childhood showed, this regional unity is also evident in the Caribbean diaspora. These factors also

explain the existence of a Caribbean culture. I believe Caribbean culture is a tool for the region to prompt the international public and political organizations to acknowledge the Caribbean as a developed and inviting region. The CARICOM nations frequently come together to display various forms and aspects of Caribbean culture. The organization's goal is to create an integrated region where all nations benefit politically and economically and to display the value and power of Caribbean culture. Barbados needs to continue to display its regional identity as a member of the Caribbean region. Barbados is not large or powerful nation and needs the Caribbean region to have some influence in international affairs. Caribbean people stimulate each Caribbean island's economy and creative endeavors through tourism, migration, and consumerism and can help bolster each island's national image. In the search for rootedness, a strong sense of regionalism helps Barbados repair a fragmented history that is more dynamic than the well-circulated peaceful colonial history and allows Bajans to create their own national image and history.

Every nation and person has a group of nested identity. For the scope of this work, I discuss the conflicts between Barbados's national and regional identities. Bajan history, the role of Crop Over in Bajan culture, and Barbados's goal to have a thriving calypso industry and general music industry show that Barbados needs to utilize both its national and regional identity. The real conflict between the identities occurs when displays and allegiances to these identities are not balanced accordingly. Events like natural disasters greatly affecting a few Caribbean islands and participation in international organizations, such as CARICOM, the UN, and the Commonwealth of Nations is a time when Barbados's regional identity takes precedence. Events like Crop

Over and NIFCA are a time when national identity needs to take precedence for the events to be successful because these events are advertised as mass displays of Bajan culture. The Bajans' anger is justified. Bajans see a problem with Bajan culture and cultural policy. Bajans are fighting to believe the nation has a vibrant nation within the region. There is no way to keep everyone satisfied about public displays of communal identity. The identities exist simultaneously, but they rarely receive equal attention during large public events.

Calypso, as a transnational music genre, aggravates and complicates the balance between Barbados as a nation and Barbados as part of the Caribbean. Calypso is a genre used throughout the region as entertainment and a form of national cultural displays. Trinidad and Tobago is considered to be calypso's home and Trinidadian calypso is considered the standard for comparison. Barbados and other islands besides Trinidad created national or island-wide calypso styles. The styles are also modified when calypso is performed outside of the Caribbean and diaspora to satisfy some of the audience's musical tastes. As each style continues to change, I believe nostalgia and the Bajan concept of calypso's authenticity are attacked and many begin to question the current condition of calypso. Bajan audiences often express their fears of a dying Calypso art form during the past several Crop Over seasons because I believe cultural preservation in Barbados is necessary to promote Bajan nationalism.

This is where Bajan youth comes in. For a period of time, cultural preservation was strictly a job for the adults. The training of Bajan youth in cultural activities was rarely acknowledged in the public sphere because audiences were more concerned about the performances of adult or senior cultural practitioners. Currently, Bajan youth are

publically acknowledged as cultural preservationists that are crucial to keeping calypso metaphorically alive. Bajan audiences believe that JCMP performances fulfill Bajan criteria for authentic calypso. The publicized training of Bajan youth through arts competitions and festivals allow youth to become cultural preservationist. Youth performances are exhibitions of basic Bajan cultural practices. Art programs and other programs belonging to the youth policy exhibit Barbados's concern for the Bajan youth and the acknowledgement of the youth's great potential.

Junior calypsonians and the rest of Bajan youth have this increased value in Barbados's nation building projects because of masquerade. Throughout Bajan history, Afro-Bajans balanced respectability and masquerade for survival and their eventual independence. Respectability is evidence of Bajans' insights on their observations of their colonial masters. During the slavery era, Afro-Bajans practiced behaviors that appealed their slave owners. As a result, they were able to achieve incentives that improved their standard of living. Barbados frequently used western nations to improve their standard of living. Bajans will occasionally study abroad in the United Kingdom and North America to get a better education. Many Bajan expats and other members of the Bajan diaspora live in western nations. They are expected to return to island, as well as gift their families on island with items from the West. Bajans, living on island or abroad that rise to prominence in any career path are lauded in the island and diaspora. It shows Barbados can produce people of importance thus strengthening national pride and, potentially, increase its international presence. Through my observations, I come to view masquerade became a middle ground and, I argue that masquerade can be a third space between conservatism and liberalism in politics. Respectability aided in masquerade during the

slavery and colonial eras. When executed properly, forms of masquerade were seen as displays of respectability despite its purpose for resistance. It allowed Bajans to unite to achieve specific goals by appealing the majority of Bajans. Masquerade is a form of freedom that appears restricted because of Bajans' need to remain respectable. In the case of calypso and Crop Over, the restrictions enforced do not undermine the freedom given to Bajans during the Crop Over season. Masquerade goes beyond politics. Masquerade has become a form of playfulness as well. It is exhibited in performing arts and, more importantly, day-to-day life. Masquerade has become a method for Bajans to connect with themselves and others. Respectability and masquerade are the foundations of Barbados's creolized culture. It also helped the growth of roots among Bajans since they do not have any indigenous connections to the island. These two concepts are the center of Crop Over and are consistently discussed in Crop Over commentaries.

Bajan calypso performance, like the genre's setting, utilizes respectability and masquerade to create Bajan cultural displays. Through calypso, Bajans have the opportunity to communicate with fellow Bajans about their environment in exaggerated methods. Calypso a vocal genre is an exaggerated oral art. Bajan calypso uses specific words and literary and musical devices to reflect the Bajan dialect, ethos, and pathos. Calypso is an indication of Bajan culture's vitality. The calypso Renaissance that occurred in the seventies and eighties gave Bajans pride in their culture. The success that some calypsonians achieved in the Caribbean proved Bajan culture had a place in greater Caribbean culture. This was followed by the creation of Ringbang and Bajan prominence in soca and ragga soca in the nineties. It showed that there is a space for recognition for Bajan interpretations and creations of Caribbean popular music genres. Bajans are now

trying to decide the direction of calypso composition. In the twenty-first century, calypsonians have performed internationally in regional competitions and cultural exchanges organized by the NCF.

Writing has always been the main form of record keeping as the Greek root *graph* means writing. The discussion of music has relied on the alphabetic script to have a place in academia, but music relies on the sonic and its intended emotive response to maintain its identity. In calypso scholarship, calypso's orality gave preference to the genre's lyrics rather than the sounds it creates and emits. Calypso, as a musical genre uniting the Caribbean region and as an avenue for youth empowerment through cultural maintenance, heavily relies on its aurality. The JCMP is a space where calypso's characteristic sounds connect all of the calypsos. Calypso's sound is Junior calypsonians are guardians to a calypso sound rooted in a tradition perpetuated by seniors and elders in the field. I hope this work begins to challenge perceived notions of orality's superiority in calypso. Calypso became a dynamic genre due to the sights and sounds calypso audiences consumed and enjoyed. Some Calypsonians believe the genre needs to evolve to stay alive while others believe it is dying as calypso strives to increase and diversify their audience. There is an understanding between the audience and calypsonians that goes beyond the written script.

Thoughts for the Future

I believe this work will galvanize discussions about Bajan musical culture, calypso, and youth culture in nation building projects. There is much more to be discussed about the JCMP. Some schools in Barbados hold school-wide calypso

competitions outside of Crop Over season. There are also various music competitions outside of the calypso genre for youth participants. These competitions show that the music education in Barbados, in competition and formal classroom settings, includes curriculums covering Western classical and Bajan music. Members of Bajan youth are taught different types of understanding in Western classical and Bajan musics. The JCMP in conjunction with other youth music competitions need to be studied as a part of national efforts to create musicians that will have national and international success.

Another important thread that needs elaboration is the effect of gender on calypso composition and performance. Junior calypsonians note differences between female and male calypsonians, but these differences do not go beyond the biological (Personal Interview with Sparkle T). Adult calypsonians, on the other hand, observe more differences between female and male calypsonians. There is only one female calypso monarch in the history of the Pic-o-de-Crop. This absence of female monarchs in the Pic-o-de-Crop is in stark contrast to the number of female calypsonians that became junior calypso monarchs. There have been several female junior calypso monarchs throughout the JCMP. Reasons behind this large difference in monarchs need to be examined. Are there differences beyond the biological between female and male calypsonians at the junior level? If so, do these difference make competing on an adult level more difficult for females?

Each island has different criteria for calypso performance. As a transnational music genre, calypso performance varies from island to island. People unfamiliar with calypso and the Caribbean believe that it all sounds similar and it is difficult to indicate a nation of origin. Caribbean people and Caribbean aficionados, on the other hand, can quickly

hear the difference. As seen in Barbados's JCMP, these differences originate from differences of culture and musical understandings between the islands. Discussions about the creation of a national calypso style need to be had because it shows conflicts between a nation's nested identities and decenters calypso scholarship in Western academia.

Many scholars of culture ask the question, "Can the subaltern speak?" The question and concept of the subaltern appeared to me as some rally cry for third world countries in a postcolonial society and scholars to fight for a defined and readily approachable space in globalized society. For places similar to Barbados, the subaltern is hard to define. Afro-Bajans are the majority on the island and they succeeded in gaining their independence almost fifty years ago. But, only a few Afro-Bajans are in power. Those in power are ineffective according to the Bajan masses because politicians are not caring for the masses. Bajan youth would risk losing respectability if they were outspoken about societal issues. The easiest way for their opinions to be heard is to join a group. The JCMP is similar to adult calypso tents and is considered a collective group throughout the event's commentary. Junior calypsonians are a group representing Bajan youth, a group that does not get a voice until they are a certain age or maturity level. For brief periods, Bajan children and youth have an opportunity to describe their perceptions of their nation to the general Bajan audience. During the JCMP finals, an audience filled with young and old spectators wait until a couple hours after midnight to find out who are the new junior calypso monarchs. It is a time when no child or youth you be outside of their home. The finale of the JCMP season marks the beginning of the Crop Over season and provides Bajans with a preview featuring Bajan music's future. The JCMP is a public display of the junior calypsonians' musical evolutions. Junior calypsonians learn Bajan

calypso's institutionalized foundation and grow within those parameters. The JCMP is part of a group of programs showing a vibrant Bajan culture that is driven by the youth in reality. The JCMP uses calypso's place in Caribbean and Bajan culture to provide Bajan children and youth the opportunity to have an active role in Bajan culture and society. Questions on the health of calypso and Bajan culture are being answered by the performances of the youngest Bajans As these entities continue to evolve. Time will tell if these answers will be acknowledged and accepted by the Bajan population.

Appendix A



UNIVERSITY
of HAWAII
MĀNOA

Office of Research Compliance
Human Studies Program

MEMORANDUM

July 17, 2014

TO: Anjelica Corbett
Principal Investigator
Music Department

FROM: Denise A. Lin-DeShetler, MPH, MA
Director

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Denise A. Lin-DeShetler".

SUBJECT: CHS #22261- "For the Love of Calypso: Calypso and Barbadian Identity"

Under an expedited review procedure, the research project identified above was approved for one year on July 17, 2014 by the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program. The application qualified for expedited review under CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110, Category (7).

This memorandum is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study. Please maintain it with your study records.

The Human Studies Program approval for this project will expire on July 16, 2015. If you expect your project to continue beyond this date, you must submit an application for renewal of this Human Studies Program approval. The Human Studies Program approval must be maintained for the entire term of your project.

If, during the course of your project, you intend to make changes to this study, you must obtain approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. If an Unanticipated Problem occurs during the course of the study, you must notify the Human Studies Program within 24 hours of knowledge of the problem. A formal report must be submitted to the Human Studies Program within 10 days. The definition of "Unanticipated Problem" may be found at:

http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/documents/SOPP_101_UP_Reporting.pdf, and the report form may be downloaded here: http://hawaii.edu/irb/download/forms/App_UP_Report.doc.

You are required to maintain complete records pertaining to the use of humans as participants in your research. This includes all information or materials conveyed to and received from participants as well as signed consent forms, data, analyses, and results. These records must be maintained for at least three years following project completion or termination, and they are subject to inspection and review by the Human Studies Program and other authorized agencies.

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An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

Appendix B Calypso Lyrics and Syllable Counts¹¹

Come Together Performed by JSlo

I face de terror of each day (8)
When I see that the children they falling along the way (14)
I cry in pain when I see the face (9)
Of a man sitting on the street nobody knows he name (14)

This is a cruel world (5)
Every man got to fend for heself (9)
This is a cruel world (5)
People look and them spit in your face (9)

Come together as a nation (8)
A hold up hands show your brotha de way (10)
Come together as a nation (8)
I can't bear to go another day in this shame (12)

Oh we would fall and we will stumble (9)
Down the wrong pathway (5)
We will crumble if we don' stay humble (10)
It is time to Come together as one (10)

The disabled, gross neglect (7)
All the people concerned about is that big fat check (13)
And de young men on de block (7)
For them get up and find themselves some good hard wuk (12)

This is hurting me (5)
Young girls ain't got no respect (7)
This is burning me (5)
Yes your integrity they forget (9)

Chorus

That mother they murdered her son (8)
For de weed that they give the sixteen year old school boy (13)
That old lady they robbed her of every cent (11)
From her pension check them got to repent (10)

What is happening (5)
How did we lose our way (6)
Barrow must be rocking (6)

¹¹Calypso lyrics were transcribed by the author, Anjelica Corbett

Rocking inside of he grave (7)

Chorus

What is happening to this country (9)
Three thousand laid off what about family (11)
Right now we need a griefful nation (9)
To get us back off de ground Father hear my song (12)

Chorus

Changes: I said we would fall (5)
I know we would stumble (6)
On down de way right down de ground (8)
My Barbados off de ground today (9)

Lord hear my plea (4)
Two hundred and sixty thousand Bajans (10)
Let me see you get up off your feet (9)
It is time to come together as one (10)

Come Together

I face de terror of each day (8)
When I see that the children they falling along the way (14)
I cry in pain when I see the face (9)
Of a man sitting on the street nobody knows he name (14)

This is a cruel world (5)
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I know we would stumble (6)
On down de way right down de ground (8)
My Barbados off de ground today (9)

Lord hear my plea (4)
Two hundred and sixty thousand Bajans (10)
Let me see you get up off your feet (9)
It is time to come together as one (10)

My Tribute Performed by Sammy G

Nineteen seventy-four was the rebirth of a child (13)
We call it Crop Over festival (9)
It was the end of crop and harvest time (10)
Blood, sweat, and tears of our ancestors (9)

I wasn't born but the culture lives on (10)
From drums and slavery (6)
To freedom of revelry (7)

This is the way we express ourselves (9)
From all the work and stress (6)
African, Caucasian (5)
All of we is one (5)
And we pay tribute to Crop Over (9)

From the stadium to the Garrison (10)
Snooking and laughter (5)
One love as a nation (6)
This is Crop Over (5)
Sweet music playing (5)
And people parading (6)
The burning of Harding (6)
This is Crop Over (5)
Forty years, forty years, forty years (9)
This is Crop Over (5)

So many events made this festival (10)
Our history's page many are written (9)
Communities they were all involved (9)
But some traditions now are lost (8)

Feasts at the plantation (6)
Clown prince competition (6)
Tuk band through de air (5)
Decorated cart parades (7)

And now my culture has changed (7)
To fetes and foreday parades (7)
Crop Over a brand name (6)
Let us not be shamed (5)
We have a culture to sustain (8)

Tuk music playing (5)
Folk songs are blaring (5)
The landship gyrating (6)
This is Crop Over (5)
See mokojumpies(5)
Being led by IC (6)
Sallies and shaggies (5)
All make Crop Over (5)
Forty years, forty years, forty years (9)
This is Crop Over (5)

Music is the heart of the festival (10)
It pumps blood into Crop Over (8)

Colorful costumes on parade (8)
Paints the picture of Kadooment Day (9)
Junior monarch show (6)
At the park, Soca does flow (7)
And at the cohobblopot (7)
We gonna party non-stop (7)
A monarch is crowned at Kennsington (9)
Wins as champion (5)

This is more than a carnival (8)
It is sweet fun days (5)
Let us celebrate forty this year (9)

Music arrangers (5)
Costume designers (5)
Working long hours (5)
To make a great Crop Over (7)
RPB and Gabby (6)
Hear Blood and Mikey (5)
Lil' Rick to wuk we (5)
This Crop Over (5)

Forty years, forty years, forty years (9)
This is Crop Over (5)
Forty years, forty years, forty years (9)
This is Crop Over (5)

We Salute You Dads Performed by Sparkle T

Well ya always quick to say ya giving honor (12)
To the one who raised you up (7)
Ya dearest mother (7)
Because she tried her best (6)
Trekking to the moon and back (6)
The one to fix you up (6)
When you getting slapped (5)

But don' get me working when I say this (9)
Most mothers deserve a life of bliss (9)
But when you mention A, you must mention B (11)
So I will share what daddy means to me (10)
Daddy, Daddy I thank you (7)
For everything you have done for me (9)
Daddy, daddy, I thank you (7)
For de sacrifices you made for me (10)

Cause when de going got tough (7)

You pushed us to help us have enough (9)
You made it your one priority (9)
To work hard and provide for your family (11)

Daddy, daddy, I thank you (7)
For just being you (5)
I'll always love you daddy (7)
I salute you daddy (6)

Everyday I'm hearing another story (11)
How the young folk don't have any brought-upcy (11)
Man de playing de fool (6)
Self-control dry lack (5)
Many have no respect (6)
They gone way off track (5)

But I believe the problem starts at the core (10)
De so-called father figures (7)
Dey run out de door (5)
But to those who stand de course (7)
We must salute you (5)
So respect for daddy is more than due (10)

Daddy, Daddy I thank you (7)
For everything you have done for me (9)
Daddy, Daddy I thank you (7)
For many things you instilled in me (10)
You taught me always have respect (8)
And you were the one to keep me in check (10)
You taught me education is the key (10)
To open doors you paved the way for me (10)

Daddy, daddy, I thank you (7)
For just being you (5)
I'll always love you daddy (7)
I salute you and you and you (8)

Every child should have a dad like the one I had (12)
To instill values and morals they should have (11)
Dads are forgotten and the role that they play (11)
They're not all rotten; great ones are out there (10)
I know that mothers are special (8)
But I believe that dads must be seen as equal (12)
Wish my own could be here to help me sing this song (12)
But he'll be in my heart all my life long (10)

Whoa oy, I thank you (5)
For everything you have done for me (9)
And I will sing it again and again and again and again (15)
I thank you for the many things you instilled in me (13)

You pushed me to be the best I can be (10)
And you taught me morals I hold dearly (10)
Because of your love, I will succeed (9)
Now your beautiful soul will live through me (10 or 11)

Daddy, daddy I thank you (7)
Believe this is true (5)
I'll always love you Daddy (7)

Daddy, Daddy I thank you (7)
For everything you have done for me (9)
Daddy, daddy, I thank you (7)
You did your job and did you duty (9)

You made me who I am today (8)
Without you I would be led astray (9)
And you tried your best for me (7)
One more thing daddy rest in peace (8)

Daddy, Daddy I thank you (7)
My salute goes to you (6)
And I ee I will always Love you daddy (10 or 11)

A Child's Plea Performed by Mighty KT

I got a call from a stranger only yesterday (13)
He tell me check my father call him right away (12)
I start to worry and wonder what could be wrong with he (14)
Is he sick, is he lying on dying bed (11)
Or he just spend big money (7)

So I call to hear what he had to say (10)
No expectations I put out there (9)
He said he want me to forgive he (9)
For all the suffering he caused me (9)
But hear what I had to turn and tell he (10)

You remember the time you never got to say how do you do (16)
Not a letter (4)
Not a text (3)
I swear you are living in Timbuktu (10)

You remember the time you tell me (9)
You might pick me up wait for you (8)
The sun sets (3)
I almost see it rise (6)
You forget me out by the school (8)

So why you calling me (6)
You have a short memory (7)
You forget the days I was bawling to be with me (13)
I can't believe that you couldn't see (9)
I needed my daddy (6)
There got a lot of boys out there just like me (11)
Who need dem daddy (5)

Whoa oy (2)
Daddy why, daddy why (6)

As our conversation progressed (8)
We went down mem'ry lane (6)
Like you had a cruel intention to drive me insane (13)
The crying, the lying, the begging (9)
Blamin' all on mommy (6)

When he knew dat de truth is he didn't care (11)
How I would survive, daddy (7)
Child support was a chore for him monthly (10)
While mommy tries her best to make ends meet (10)
He said the past is just history (9)
How could he really make it up to me (10)
But hear what I had to turn and tell he (10)

You remember the time you took me by Granny to spend the day (16)
Not a drink (3)
Not a sandwich (4)
I swore I was going to pass away (10)

You remember when you neglected me (10)
To go party with friends (6)
I would wait and pray for you to return (10)
As I sat there at my wit's end (8)

Chorus

Mhmm (1)
Na na nay nana nay nei (7)

I needed my daddy (6)

I finally built some courage to tell hi, my mind (12)
All of my life he was absent, he missed important times (14)
Some of my greatest achievements I wished he was there (13)
In the simplest moments, I was down and out (11)
I wish you show that you care (7)

But instead, thirteen years passed you by (9)
And be a father you hardly tried (9)
And now you want t be nice to me (9)
Like you is daddy of the century (10)
But this is what's on my mind constantly (10)

You remember the promise you done make when I was only four (16)
Now I'm grown (3)
And I'm still waiting to see (7)
My bicycle come out of Court's (8)

You remember the PSP you buy for me round Christmas time (16)
What a gift (3)
Cause you get and take it back (7)
You coulda tell me it wasn't mine (9)

But I forgive you, daddy for de wrong you do (12)
Yes you hurt me but I will make so it power me (13)
One day you'll face the reality (9)
I needed my daddy (6)
They got a lot of children just like me (10)
Who need dem daddy (5)

Spoken Dialogue
I needed my daddy (6)

Don' Count Me Out Performed by Dynamo

Many years ago the Sparrow sang education is key (15)
So we parents and teachers focused on academics only (16)
And all the children who didn't do well at school (12)
Society does label duncy and fool (11)
But I know God gave me many gifts with lots of talent and bliss (16)
Don't count me out cause I will be a success (10)

So let me play me football (7)
And let me play me cricket (7)
Ya better don' count me out cause I am not academic (15)

I could be better than Messi (8)
Also Gary (4)
Making my dreams come true (6)
Don' count me out because I'm brilliant too (11)

Blow de horn (3)
Ai (1)
Ai (1)
Shoo bye (2)

Some parents does make de mistake of comparing children (14)
Instead of trying to chart de course that's best suited for them (15)
Because I may not be de of my class (11)
Sometimes I don' get A's, I don' even pass (11)
Don' treat me like an idiot if I don' pass physics (14)
Don' count me out because they're other subjects (11)

So let me do mechanics (7)
Even electronics (6)
Ya better don' count me out cause I am not academic (15)
I could be the electrician (8)
A technician (4)
Fixin' things just for you (6)
Don' count me out because I'm brilliant too (12)

Blow de horn (3)
Ai (1)
Ai(1)
Shoo bye (2)
Wicket (2)

Don' care how hard I may study some things just do not stick (14)
Square root and unitary method I just do not get it (15)
But in music and de arts I'm very inclined (12)
Kaiso and playing drums always on me mind (11)
Though I may not be a scholar I will go very far (14)
Don' count me out I'm destined to be a star (11)

So let me sing me kaiso (7)
Let me play me music (6)
Ya better don' count me out cause I am not academic (15)
I could be better than Gabby or RPB (12)
Makin' my dreams come true (6)
Don' count me out because I'm brilliant too (11)

I will succeed (4)

I will succeed (4)
For nothing is impossible salons as I believe (14)
I will achieve (4)
I will achieve (4)
Don' count me out (4)
Don' count me out (4)
Don' count me out because I'm brilliant too (11)

Don' count me out 8xs (4)

My Song Performed by Nubian Queen

Ev'ry year my songwriter ask me (9)
What I want ta sing (5)
I tell she gurl I do not know (8)
Cause I sing 'bout ev'ryting (7)
But I want a biting topic (8)
That deals with serious issues (7)
No politics or religion (9)
Just someting to air my views (7)

So I decided to sing 'bout youth (9)
And how they get on so rude (7)
Behaving stink up in de bus stand (9)
And always late for school (6)
No respect for the adults around (9)
They cuss and they get on bad (7)
What happened to all the training (8)
And morals old people had (7)

Like good morning sir (5)
Good afternoon ma'am (5)
Rushing for school to catch the first van (9)
Yes, please or, no excuse pardon me (9)
Get up in the bus for the elderly (10)

So I tell she put that in my song (9)
Cause I want to adjust the things that going wrong (12)
Please songwriter, put that in my song (9)
Cause I want to change all the things that going wrong (12)

Whoa yayoy (3)

Ev'ry year is a constant battle (9)
In junior competition (7)
Cause the things I would love to sing about (10)
Would cause plenty confusion (7)

What I see here in this country (8)
I need to talk about (6)
But cause I young you will muzzle me (9)
And tell me to shut my mouth (7)

So I decided to play it safe (9)
And sing 'bout teen pregnancy (7)
And how the children get so practical (9)
When studying biology (7)
Experimenting in their spare time (9)
Like dem is lab rat (5)
What happened to being children (8)
And playing with ball and bat (7)

Or cleaning the house (5)
Or reading a book (5)
Letting granny teach you how to cook (9)
Washing the wares you see in he sink (9)
Using the brain the Lord gave you to think (10)

Chorus

Who yayoy (3)
Aha (2)
Whoa yayoy (3)

Ev'ry year I hearing the same thing (9)
Young people is the worst (6)
Like we don' deserve freedom (7)
And my generation cursed (7)
I study all o we lifestyle (8)
I know what appeal yo we (7)
But I can adjust the things to change (9)
And help to benefit we (7)

But I want chya know that a child don' go to sleep (12)
And wake up so bad (5)
Some parents don' know 'bout parenting (9)
The situation is sad (7)
Don' know a thing about discipline (9)
And putting de children right (7)
So when they go to school and the teacher speak to dem (13)
They want to fight (4)

So make sure you chil respect you and hear (10)
Don' buy dem all of de brand name gear (9)

Tell your chil you love an' cherish dem (9)
Don' spoil de chil and lead dem to ruin (10)

Chorus

De Letter Performed by AH-DEE-LAH

I got a letter from HIV (9)
He was upset he was so angry (9)
Ashamed and frustrated with this country (10)
I coulda tell by the words he write (9)
He was concerned for thousands who died (9)

Those in authority keep sending messages out daily (15)
But you keep ignoring like you all asleep and snoring (14)
Multiple partners you does have cause you think you immortal (15)
And then crying bricks when you laying in hospital (13)

But then he write me (5)
Tell them for me (4)
Don't blame HIV (5)
When you live recklessly (6)

With Tom, Dick, and Harry and know that them married (12)
Don't seal your fate (4)
Cause he don' discriminate (6)
And you should be wise (5)

If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)
I beggin' ya (4)
If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)

As I went further I was appalled (9)
Society heading for a downfall (10)
If you see the list of names that he call (10)
Over the years he spread out he wings (9)
And fly straight between many marriages (10)

Praying afta the weak (6)
He easily take over your body (10)
Without care or caution (6)
He destroying man and woman (8)

Statistics higher than years ago (9)
But you still messin' around (7)
Takin' big risks to send you six feet under the ground (13)

Chorus

Changes: Hear what I tell ya (5)

HIV say he smarter than we (9)

Years now doctors with plenty degrees (9)

And scientists can't find a cure for he (10)

Like a thief in the night he snatch your body (10)

He running like bolt through your blood stream (9)

Black or white rich or poor (6)

He patiently waits outside your door (9)

When you playing carelessly (6)

Without protection you fearless (8)

Warnings on social media (8)

So you could get tested too (7)

But you playin' you sayin' that it can't happen to you (12)

Chorus

When ya refuse to see (6)

The doctors and de nurses don' want lady meat (12)

Don' seal your fate (4)

Cause he don' discriminate (6)

And you should be wise (5)

If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)

Hear what I tell ya (5)

If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)

Open your eyes and try to be wise (9)

If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)

Protect yourself you just have one life (9)

If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)

Ya hear what I tell ya (6)

If you can't abstain, try and condomize (10)

Appendix C

Musical Transcription¹²

Come Together

Lyrics by JSlo

Arranged by Tito Gittens

 = approx. 100



I face the

ter - ror of each day when I

see that the chil - dren they fal - ling a - long the way I

cry in pai - n when I see the face of a man

si - ting on the street no - bo - dy know he name This is a cruel world

E - vry man got to fend for he - self This is a cru - el world

Peo - ple loo - k and them spit in your face Come to - get - her

as a na - tion A hold up hands

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¹²All musical transcriptions were done by the author, Anjelica Corbett. To respect the wishes of the NCF and some of the junior calypsonians, musical recordings will be given on an individual basis. These recordings are for scholarship purposes only. If you want to obtain the recordings, please contact the author, Anjelica Corbett, through email at apcorbet@hawaii.edu or anjelicap@uchicago.edu with your request and your potential use of the recordings. Thank you for your understanding.

17
8
— show your bro - tha — the — way Come to-get - her — as — a na -

20
8
tion — I can't bear to — go — a no - ther day in this sha -

22
8
ay - ay - ay - ame — Oh — we would fall and — we would stum -

24
8
ble down the wrong path - way We will crum -

27
8
- ble — if — we — don' stay hum - ble — It is time

29
8
— to come to - get - her as one —

My Tribute!

Lyrics by: Ishiaka McNeil

Arranged by: Mark Husbands

♩ = approx. 118

Nine - teen se - ven - ty four was the

re - birth of a chil - d We call it Cro - p O - ver fes - ti -

val It was the end of Crop and har - vest time Blood.

sweat, and tears of our an - ces - tors I wa - sn't

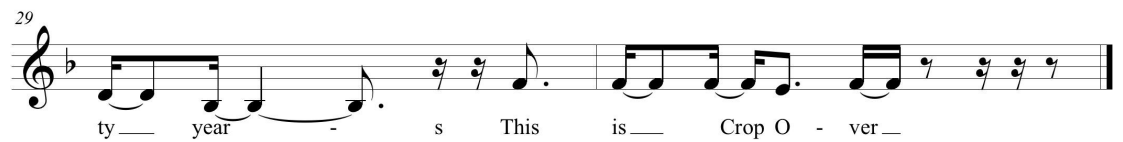
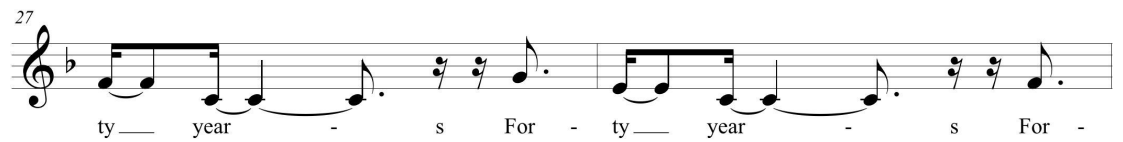
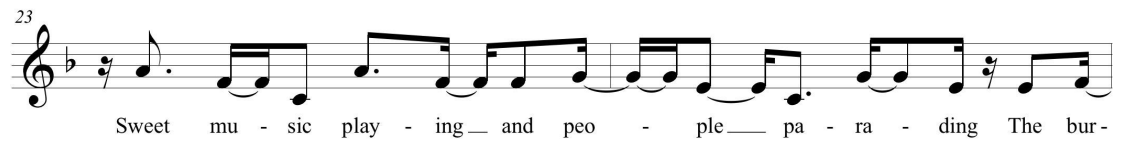
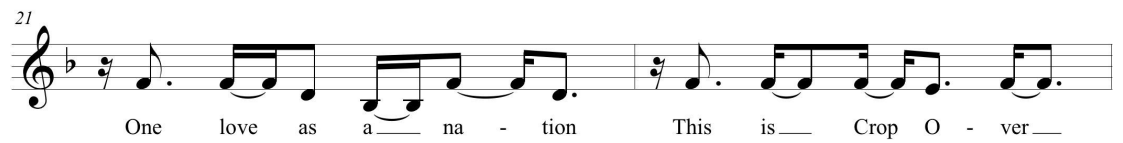
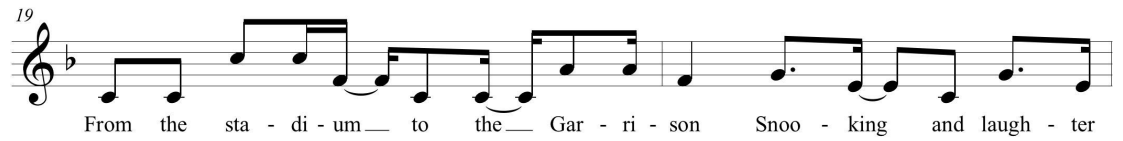
born but the cul - ture lives on From drums

and sla - ve - ry To free - dom of re - vel - ry

This is the way we ex - press our - selves From all

the work and stress A - fri - can cau - ca - sian All

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We Salute You Dads

Lyrics by Sparkle T

Arranged by Paul "Billboard" Murrell

Well ya al - ways quick to say —

4
ya gi - ving ho - nor — To the one — who raised you up —

6
ya dea - rest mo — ther — be - cause she tried her bes - t

8
Trekked to the moon and back The — one to fix you up

10
when you get - ting slapp - ed But — don' get me wrong when I — say thi - s Most

12
— mo - thers de - serve a life of bliss Bu - t when you men - tion A

14
you must men - tion B So — I will — share — what da - ddy means to me

17
Da - ddy Da - ddy — I thank you — For e - vry - thing you

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20

 have done for me Da - ddy Da - ddy _____ I thank uou

23

 — For the — sac-ri - fi - ces you made for me Cause when the go-ing got tough You

26

 pushed to help us have e - nough You — made it — your one

28

 — pri - o - ri - ty To — work hard — and pro-vide for your fa - mi - ly —

30

 — Da - ddy — Da - ddy — I — thank you For just

33

 be-ing you I'll al-ways love you da-ddy I sa-lute you da - ddy

A Child's Plea

Lyrics by: Chrystal Cummins-Beckles

Arranged by: Chrystal Cummins-Beckles

♩=approx. 93

I got a call from a stran-ger

on-ly yes-ter-day He tell me check my fat-her call him right a-way

I start to wor-ry and won-der what could be wrong with he Is

he sic-k is he ly-ing on dy-ing bed Or he just spend big mo-ney

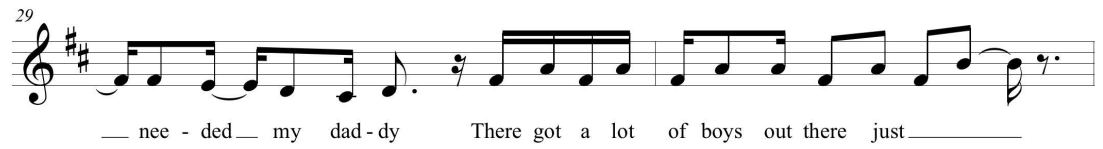
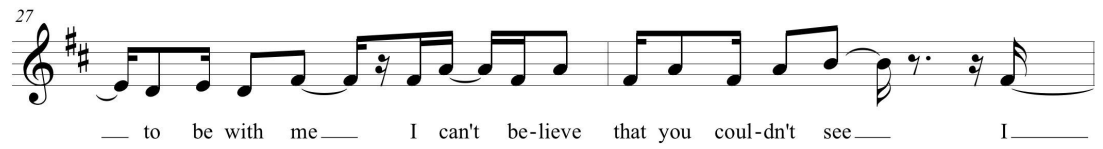
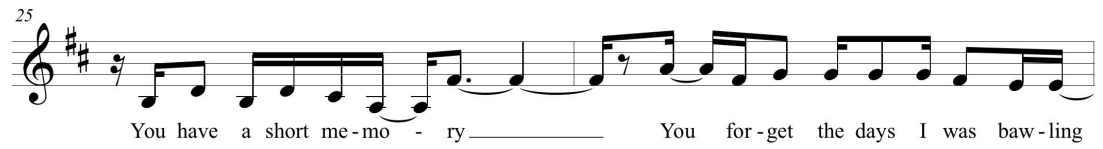
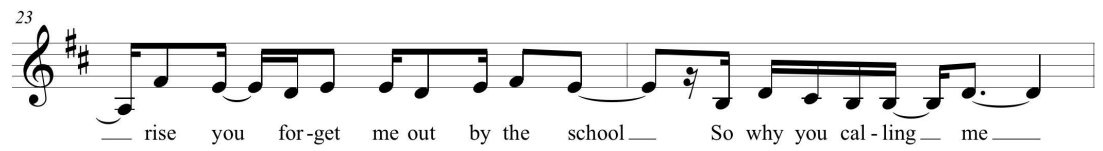
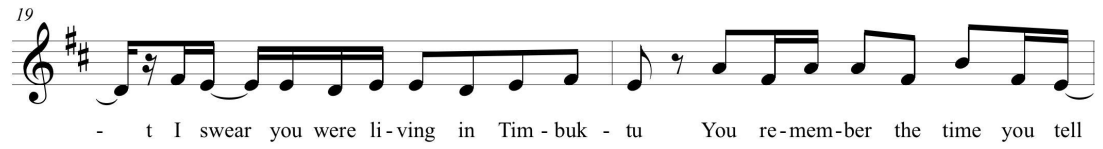
So I call to hear what he had to say No ex-pec-ta-tions I put out there

He said he want me to for-give he For all the suf-fer-ring he caused me

But hear what I had to turn and tell he You re-mem-ber the time you ne-

ver got to say how do you do Not a le-tter Not a tex-

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Don' Count Me Out

Lyrics by Paul "Billboard" Murrell

Arranged by Paul "BillBoard" Murrell

$\text{♩} = \text{approx. } 115$

Ma-ny ___ years a - go the ___ Spar-row sang

E-du-ca-tion is ___ key So we pa - rents and ___ tea - chers fo - cused

on a-ca - de-mics on-ly And all the chil-dren who di-dn't do well

at school So-ci - e - ty does la-bel doun - cy and ___ fool ___ But

I know God gave me ma - ny ___ gift - s with lots of ta - lent and ___ bli - ss Don'

count me out cause I ___ will be ___ a suc - cess So ___ let me

play me foot - ball ___ And let me play me cri - cket ___ Ya bet -

ter don' count me ou - t cause I ___ am not a - ca-de-mic

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Don' Count Me Out

22

I could be__ bet-ter than Mes-si__ Al-so__ Ga-ry__ Ma-king my dreams come true

24

___ Don't count me out be-cause I'm__ bri-lianttoo__ Blow de horn

My Song

Lyrics by: Chrystal Cummins-Beckles

Arranged by: Chrystal Cummins-Beckles

$\text{♩} = \text{approx. } 110$

E - vry year my ___ song writ - er ask me What

4
___ I ___ want to sing I ___ tell she ___ girl I do not know cause I ___ sing 'bout

6
___ e - vry - thing But ___ I ___ want a ___ bi - ting to pic That

8
deals with ser - ious is - sues ___ No ___ po - li - tics or re - li - gion ___

10
___ Just some - thing to ___ air my ___ views So I de - ci - ded to sing 'bout

12
___ youth and how they get on so rude Be - hav - ing stink up in the

14
bus stand an - d al - ways late for school ___ No re - spect for the a - dults

16
___ a - round They cuss and they get on ba - d What ha - pened to all the trai -

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18

 - ning and mo-rals old— peo-ple had Like good morn-ing sir Good af-ter-noon ma'am

21

 Rush - ing for school to catch the first van — Yes, please,

24

 — or no ex - cuse par-don me Get up in the bus for the el - der - ly —

27

 — So I tell she put tha - t in my song — Cause I want to — ad-just the thing-

30

 - s that — go - ing wrong Please song - wri-ter pu - t tha - t in my song

33

 cause I want to — change all — the thing - s that — go - ing wrong

De Letter

Lyrics by Chrystal Cummins-Beckles

Arranged by Chrystal Cummins-Beckles

$\text{♩} = \text{approx. 95}$

I got a let-ter from H - I - V___

He was up-set he was___ so an - gry A-shamed and fru-stra-ted with this coun -

try I coul-da tell by the___ words he___ write___ He was con-cerned for thou - sands

___ who died___ Those in au - tho - ri - ty Keep sen-ding

mes - sa - ges___ out dai - ly But you keep ig - no - ring li - ke you all a -

sleep and sno - ring Mul - ti - ple part - ners you does have cause you think

you im-mor - tal and then cry - ing brick - s when you la - ying in___ ho - spi - tal___

___ But then he write me, tell them for me___ Don' blame H - I - V___ When you live reck -

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